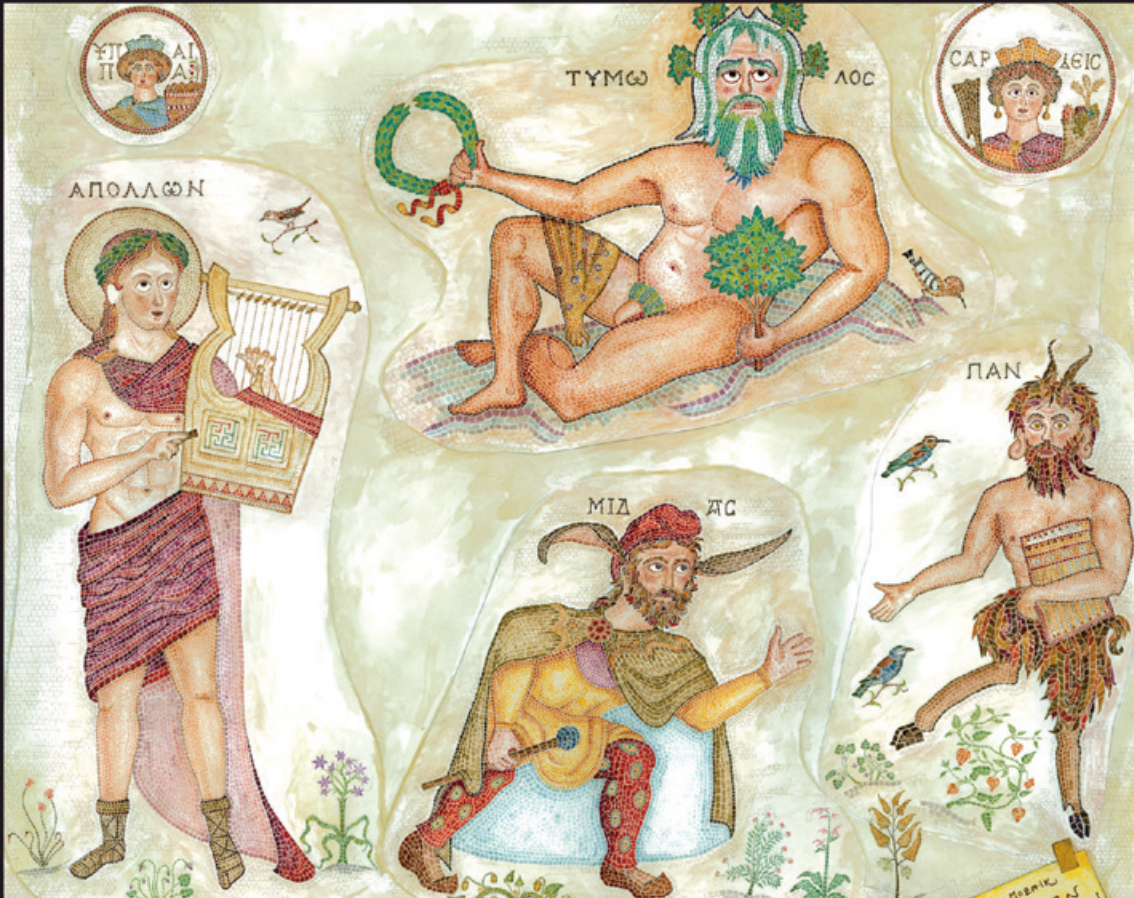




THE PASTS OF ROMAN ANATOLIA

INTERPRETERS, TRACES, HORIZONS

FELIPE ROJAS

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THE PASTS OF ROMAN ANATOLIA

In this volume, Felipe Rojas examines how the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia interacted with the physical traces of earlier civilizations in their midst. Combining material and textual evidence, he shows that interest in and knowledge about pre-classical remains was deep and widespread. Indeed, ancient interaction with the remnants of even more ancient pasts was a vital part of life for many and diverse people in Roman Anatolia. Such interaction ranged from the purported translation of Bronze and Iron Age inscriptions to the physical manipulation of monuments and objects, including prehistoric earthen mounds and archaic statues. Occasionally, it even involved the production of fake antiquities. Offering new insights into both the archaeology and history of the Roman Mediterranean, Rojas's book is also an innovative contribution to the archaeology and anthropology of memory.

Felipe Rojas is Associate Professor of Archaeology at Brown University. He is the recipient of grants and fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Institute for Advanced Study, the Getty Research Institute, the Loeb Classical Library Foundation, Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations, and the Turkish Cultural Foundation. He has been working on archaeological projects in Turkey, at Aphrodisias, Sardis, Labraunda, and Notion, since 2001.

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Brown University



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To the memory of
Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr.
(1937–2012)

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Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr., watercolor of a hypothetical Roman mosaic illustrating the musical contest between Pan and Apollo, 2010

NOTE ON COVER ILLUSTRATION

The watercolor on the cover of this book illustrates a favorite myth in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (II.146–194): a musical contest involving the god Apollo (a virtuoso of the lyre) and the satyr Pan (who plays the multi-reeded wind instrument that in English bears his name). The event depicted took place in the vicinity of the city of Sardis in western Anatolia. Strictly speaking, this watercolor is an illustration not of the musical contest itself, but of a hypothetical Roman period depiction of that event. The watercolorist chose to imagine and paint what mosaicists in Roman Sardis would have created if they had illustrated the musical contest.

Standing between Apollo and Pan are their judges: the Phrygian king Midas, with his distinctive donkey ears and oriental garb – notice his colorful tights and pointy Hittite-like shoes – and, above him, the personified mountain-god Tmolus splayed out over the landscape. Local Lydian flora and fauna are sprinkled over the conjectural mosaic's floor: a hoopoe rests on Tmolus's folds, while a hyacinth grows at Apollo's feet. At the top corners of the scene are medallions representing two Lydian settlements closely associated with Tmolus: on the right, the mighty Sardis, once capital of the Lydian Empire, and on the left, “little Hypaepa” (*Metamorphoses* II.152). Despite its minuscule size compared with Sardis, the village of Hypaepa could claim some mythological importance, as Ovid attests: the skillful weaver Arachne was a native of the village (*Metamorphoses* 6.1–145).

This watercolor was painted by Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr., former director of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, over the course of many afternoons and evenings in the field. It was intended to be the stage backdrop for an opera on the mythical musical contest composed by Kamran Ince with a libretto by Miriam Seidel. That opera was premiered on April 13, 2012 at the Milwaukee Opera Theater. Inasmuch as the painting is an answer to the question “How would an inhabitant of Roman Anatolia have envisioned the local past?”, it engages in the same sort of exploration that I carry out in this book.

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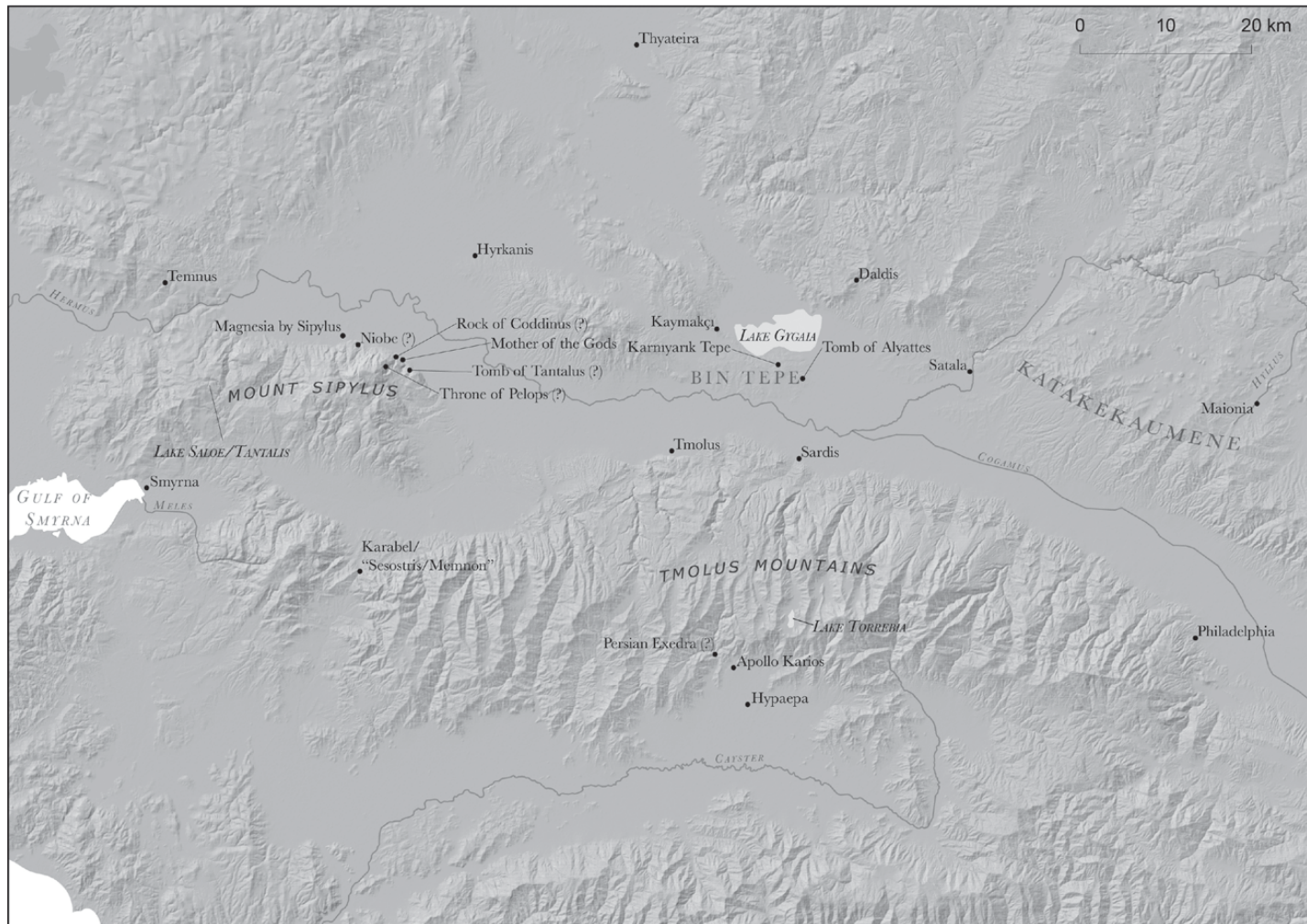
With efficiency and good cheer, Ayla Çevik prepared the indices and Dan Plekhov produced the maps. Christopher Ell cross-checked references to Greek and Latin texts and caught several mis-citations. Carol Fellingham Webb's meticulous copy-editing improved the text throughout. Nanán Zambrano produced a mock version of the manuscript with illustrations that allowed me and others to envision the final product. The remote origins of this project can be traced back to my graduate school days at the University of California, Berkeley, where David Goldstein, Alejandro Guarín, Athena Kirk,

and Joel Rygorsky inspired and informed me daily. I am profoundly grateful to Susan Alcock, Sarah Morris, and Christopher Ratté for their trust and guidance at various moments in my academic career.

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MAP 1 Map of Roman Anatolia



MAP 2 Map of Hermus River Valley region



MAP 3 Map of greater Roman world and neighboring regions

ONE

INTRODUCTION

This is a book about archaeology and history at a time when neither of those disciplines existed – at least not as we know them today. It concerns people in the Roman world who felt the urge to explore and explain their past by interpreting and manipulating things that they understood to be its material remains. Some traces of the past attracted visitors from around the ancient Mediterranean and beyond; others were the object of attention only of the few men and women who lived in the immediate vicinity of those traces. When the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia explained the remnants of former times to themselves or to others, they occasionally did so in terms that would be recognizable, even familiar, to archaeologists and historians working today. For instance, many people in the region at the time believed that the mound of Hisarlık (near modern Çanakkale, Turkey) was the site of Homer's Troy and of events narrated in the *Iliad* – at least some modern scholars insist on the validity of that equation.¹

On other occasions, ancient and modern horizons overlap only awkwardly. Traces of the past that modern paleontologists understand to be the petrified bones of Miocene giraffids and other such prehistoric creatures were explained by Greek and Roman intellectuals as having belonged to mythological heroes and their monstrous adversaries.² More jarring from a modern Western scientific perspective, there were places in the classical Mediterranean where it was said that one could perceive the olfactory remnants of such beings. People claimed to be able to smell the lasting rot of decomposing centaurs,

for example, or the peculiar aroma of the clay used by Prometheus to craft the first humans.³ In addition to bones and smells, countless other phenomena, both anthropogenic and natural, were – and in some cases still are – understood to be the lasting indices of former times. This book is about people in Roman Anatolia who sought to find the past in things, about the things that those people considered to be meaningful, and about the various stories that they told about earthen mounds, rock-cut reliefs, ruined buildings, obsolete weapons, fossilized bones, inscriptions in forgotten writing systems, and myriad other traces of the past.

TWO EXAMPLES: THE MACE-HEAD AND THE GODDESS

Two concrete examples will serve to illustrate the principal questions in my investigation as well as the kinds of sources I have used to conduct it. In 2005, I was excavating in the ruins of a Roman temple in the ancient city of Sardis in western Turkey. That temple, originally a first-century AD construction, had been razed to the ground at some point in the late fourth or early fifth century AD, a victim of urban renewal.⁴ Since most of its once imposing marble columns had been reduced to lime in antiquity, I had to dig in the building's foundations, which themselves had been robbed out by people seeking the solid limestone blocks on which the temple's columns had once stood. Amid the detritus dumped in the ruins, a curious object caught my attention: a yellow-and-black stone, polished and smaller than a child's fist (Figure 1.1).

Once a spheroid, the stone had been cracked roughly in half, revealing fine drill-marks along its central axis. Though evidently anthropogenic and ancient, I could not identify what it was or even place it in a sequence in relation to other material remains at Sardis. As the day's work continued, I left the stone by the side of my trench. When the director of the excavation visited my trench to inspect my progress, he immediately recognized the artifact as an Early Bronze Age mace head and thought of parallels found in the relevant strata at the site of Alaca Höyük in central Turkey.⁵ The sundry demands of the season took precedence and there was little time to dwell upon the yellow-and-black stone in the field. Still, the thought of it kept prompting me to wonder: what was a Bronze Age mace head doing in the ruins of a Roman temple? Would the inhabitants of Sardis in the first few centuries AD have identified that object as an ancient symbol of political power, as modern archaeologists now do? Would it have struck them as stylistically, functionally, or otherwise culturally incongruous in their present – a trace not only of former times but also of long-gone people? Alternatively, was it unremarkable, mere rubbish in the temple? In short, how would *they* have understood what scholars today might call “pre-classical material remains”? This last question drives my investigation.

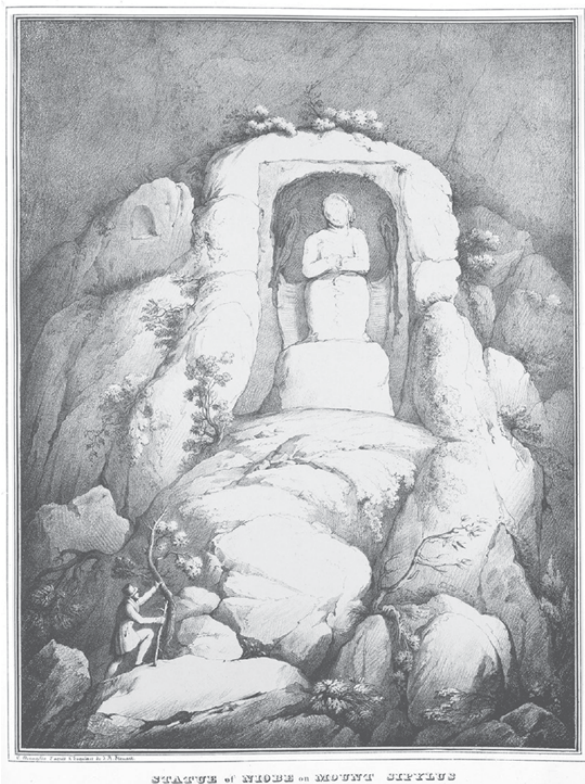


1.1 Bronze Age mace head from Wadi B temple at Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

In addition to archaeological remains, Greek and Latin literary texts dealing with Bronze Age artifacts provide insight into possible strategies of interpretation of antiquities in Roman Anatolia. They also highlight differences and similarities between ancient and modern approaches to the physical traces of the past. My second example involves precisely one such text. In the second century AD, the Anatolian traveler and historian Pausanias reported the following while journeying through the southern Peloponnese:

Thirty stades beyond them [i.e., the islets of Trinasus] is Acraiae, a city by the sea. There is a temple there and a stone statue of the Mother of the Gods which are sight-worthy. According to those who live in Acraiae this is the oldest of all the sanctuaries of this goddess in the Peloponnese, while the Magnesians who inhabit the territories north of Mount Sipylus have the most ancient of *all* statues of the Mother of the Gods on the rock of Coddinus. The Magnesians say that Broteas, the son of Tantalus, made it.⁶

Scholars do not know what exactly Pausanias saw at Acraiae. In fact, they do not even know the exact location of this “city.” Whatever it was Pausanias saw there, he qualified the locals’ claim – “oldest... in the Peloponnese.” According



1.2 Engraving of “Niobe,” from John Robert Steuart, *A Description of Some Ancient Monuments: with Inscriptions, Still Existing in Lydia and Phrygia, Several of which are Supposed to be Tombs of Early Kings*, 1842, plate 1. (Public domain scan from the collection of The New York Public Library.)

to him, the most ancient of *all* statues of the Mother of the Gods was to be found not in Greece, but in western Anatolia, near his native Magnesia (some 50 kilometers west of Sardis).

In the nineteenth century AD, European travelers to western Anatolia sought to identify on the ground the monuments mentioned by Pausanias in his occasional descriptions of the region. Since then, most scholars have assumed that a colossal rock-cut monument in a place called Akpınar, on the northern slopes of Mount Sipylus (Spil Dağı in Turkish), is the monument Pausanias considered “the most ancient of all statues of the Mother of the Gods.”⁷(See [Figure 1.2](#) and also see [Figure 3.2](#).) One of those nineteenth-century travelers, John Robert Steuart, climbed Mount Sipylus in 1837 and summarily confirmed that the statue in Akpınar was probably the “oldest in existence.”⁸ Steuart had a copy of Pausanias to help him interpret the rock-cut monument, but how did Pausanias himself go about explaining the statue?

Pausanias relates that his fellow Magnesians believed that the statue on Mount Sipylus had been carved by the mythical sculptor Broteas, son and brother,

respectively, of the equally mythical Tantalus and Pelops. Pausanias may have identified the handiwork of Broteas on the basis of style, as an art connoisseur might today and as Pausanias himself sometimes did in the case of ancient Greek artists.⁹ He may have understood that statue's rough finish as a deliberate and distinctively Brotean trait. Additionally, Pausanias could have assumed that the very old statue in Anatolia was necessarily earlier than the very old statue in Greece, because Pelops, who first ruled over the Peloponnese (and was that region's namesake), was originally an Anatolian.¹⁰ However it was that Pausanias reached his conclusions, the short passage quoted above demonstrates that some people in the Roman Mediterranean were interested in what archaeologists and historians now call Bronze Age *realia* and, more interestingly, that even in antiquity, there were differing understandings of the origins and meaning of such artifacts.¹¹

Modern archaeologists and historians have reached their own conclusions about the rock-cut monument on Mount Sipylus: the statue was most likely carved around the thirteenth century BC by the Luwian-speaking people of the Seha River land.¹² The statue's coarse features, which are peculiar when compared with many other Bronze Age rock-cut monuments in Anatolia, have been explained as the result of the fact that the colossal carving was left unfinished in the Bronze Age. Whether or not the monument was unfinished, archaeologists are now generally convinced that it represented a mountain god, not a goddess. The historical veracity of the specific ancient or modern interpretations – the Mother of the Gods as sculpted by Broteas or a Bronze Age mountain god commissioned by a Luwian-speaking ruler of the Seha River land – is of less importance to me than the fact that Pausanias and his contemporaries strove to fit antiquities such as the monument at Akpınar (and perhaps also the yellow-and-black stone in the temple at Sardis) within their own historical frameworks. How and why they did so are key questions in this investigation.

GEOGRAPHIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL SCOPE

My geographic scope is easy to specify: Anatolia is a relatively well-defined geographic entity where it is bounded by water, to the north, west, and south. The eastern limit of the region, by contrast, is less obvious and has been geopolitically contentious since the Bronze Age, if not before then. An expansive definition of Anatolia's limits, such as that used by contemporary Turkish authorities, extends its eastern boundary up to the Lesser Caucasus and into ancient Greater Armenia. The common scholarly tendency to equate the borders of classical Anatolia with those of the modern Republic of Turkey,¹³ however, retrojects nationalistic claims into the past and takes no notice of the historical instability and cultural dynamism of the territories in question. More problematically, it disregards the opinions of religious and ethnic minorities living in those territories who have imagined and continue to imagine

different historical and political geographies.¹⁴ Put in strictly geographic terms, most of my evidence comes from places that lie west of an imaginary diagonal line extending roughly from the modern city of Latakia, Syria, to the modern city of Batumi, Georgia.

My chronological scope also requires clarification. I am interested in what people from about the early second century BC to about the fourth century AD thought about and did with things that at that time were already old (or imagined to be old). If a reader would prefer to conceive the temporal range of my investigation in terms of precise historical events or even of dates, the battle of Magnesia fought in 190 BC, in which Roman forces defeated the Seleucid king Antiochus III and thus took control of Anatolia roughly coincides with its remote limit, while the death of the emperor Theodosius and the subsequent splitting of the empire in two halves in 395 AD roughly coincides with its proximate one. Most of my case studies, however, cluster in the first three centuries AD.

At the outset it is worth noting that I deal throughout the book with artifacts that are not usually considered Roman and that are not primarily studied by scholars who specialize in Roman culture. Understandably, archaeologists and art historians tend to label material culture according to its moment of production, rather than focusing on later episodes in the biographies of specific artifacts. Some of those later episodes, however, are my principal concern. The “Bronze Age” mace head in the temple at Sardis and the “Bronze Age” statue on Mount Sipylus were at some point “Roman” material culture, at least inasmuch as people in Roman Anatolia interacted with them. Inevitably, then, this book transgresses rigid periodizations.

ARCHAEOLOGY, ANTIQUARIANISM, AND ARCHAEOPHILIA

At the core of this book are examples of what scholars have sometimes described as Roman antiquarian and even archaeological thoughts and practices. The adjectives “antiquarian” and “archaeological” are convenient, but also anachronistic. Archaeology as a discipline did not exist before the nineteenth century AD. And so, referring to situations in antiquity as evidence of “archaeology” (and, as is also frequently done, labeling ancient individuals “archaeologists”) obscures cultural and historical specifics and poses a teleological trap.¹⁵ Ancient interactions with the traces of more ancient pasts, even in the relatively familiar classical Mediterranean (a region of the world that is arguably much better understood by archaeologists and historians than, say, the pre-Columbian Amazon or Iron Age Arabia) are more than a simple foreshadowing of modern archaeological thoughts and practices. They provide insight into ancient systems of thought that could and did account for the origins and meanings of the physical traces of the past in the past.

Without doubt, the term “antiquarianism” is more general and less bound by disciplinary strictures than “archaeology,” but it is also properly associated with a series of early modern European intellectuals who, in the words of Arnaldo Momigliano, “preferred travel to the emendation of texts and altogether subordinated literary texts to coins, statues, vases, and inscriptions.”¹⁶ Even if the term “antiquarianism” can be fruitfully applied to cultural phenomena outside early modern Europe – as has been done, for example, by European Sinologists who have called attention to social and epistemological parallels between early modern European and Chinese “antiquarian” practices – it can hardly serve to describe every case of human interest in the traces of the past.¹⁷ One of the distinguishing achievements – or rather, hermeneutic strategies – of early modern European antiquarians, as Momigliano emphasized, was to subordinate *texts* to *things*. In cultural situations in which texts did not exist, or in which texts and things were recognized as equally authoritative sources of information about former times, the term “antiquarianism” is potentially misleading.

I would rather understand the cases of ancient interaction with the traces of the past that are discussed in this book as instances of archaeophilia, that is, of a pervasive human impulse to use objects as historical evidence.¹⁸ Archaeophilia is not only the urge that incited Pausanias and his contemporaries to reflect about the antiquities of the Roman Mediterranean, but also that which motivated early modern European and Chinese antiquarians to undertake their studies, and indeed that which drives modern archaeologists, in whatever variety they may exist today. The term designates a more generalized practice than either archaeology or antiquarianism. It is deliberately intended to be expansive and inclusive; and yet, it always has specific historical and cultural contours.

I am aware of the staggering diversity of ways in which humans have interacted with artifacts that they consider to be material indices of former times.¹⁹ Archaeophilia in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica is different from archaeophilia in Ming China and prehistoric Europe.²⁰ Just as much diversity is encountered when one considers the same place at different times: archaeophilia in central Anatolia during the Neolithic period is different from archaeophilia in the same region under the Seljuk sultans.²¹ In fact, even in a single synchronic encounter with antiquities some heterogeneity among different interpreters is to be expected since the material and mental processes by which someone determines that the past was a certain way are, to say the least, multiple and complex. The hypothetical links binding things in the present to chronologically remote events involve ideas about materiality, temporality, ontology, causality, and agency that are neither natural – whatever that may mean – nor self-evident, not to mention agendas, practices, and social structures that are themselves historically and culturally specific. Although focused squarely on

Roman Anatolia, this book aims to stimulate comparative discussions about how humans have explored and explained the physical traces of their own pasts across the world.²²

I examine here ancient interpretations and interactions with material remains in terms that people in Roman Anatolia considered meaningful.²³ In other words, I am interested in taking Pausanias's claims seriously: I want to understand why and how he concluded that the statue on Mount Sipylus was the work of Broteas, rather than to dismiss his interpretation as historically improbable or archaeologically naïve. I do not aim to judge the truth or falsehood of ancient archaeophilia, or to expose either the shortcomings or the precocious insightfulness of the explanations of Pausanias and his contemporaries in the light of early modern antiquarianism or modern archaeology. Rather, I reflect upon the widespread cultural importance of archaeophilia in Roman Anatolia and indeed in the Roman world at large. Encounters around antiquities, such as the one that took place between Pausanias and the Acrians in the southern Peloponnese, occurred also throughout the Anatolian peninsula. Those encounters compelled dialogue and debate among different historical traditions. However indirectly, they illuminate the dynamics of cultural interaction both among the inhabitants of the region, internally, and between those people and their various neighbors in the Mediterranean, Mesopotamia, Iran, the Levant, and the Caucasus.

WHY ROMAN ANATOLIA?

Historians of archaeology have demonstrated that human interest in material remains that are old (or understood to be so) is at least as early as the Neolithic period and widespread, although arguably not universal.²⁴ It was certainly pervasive throughout the Roman world. A brief and very partial list of ancient remains in the Roman Mediterranean with which people interacted – even if that list is limited only to monumental stone structures in the region – may give a sense of the variety of evidence available to conduct this investigation. In Roman Greece, Mycenaean fortifications and tombs; in Roman Egypt, pharaonic temples and obelisks; in Roman Iberia and Gaul, the enormous chambers and sculptures called dolmens and menhirs; in Roman Sardinia, the prehistoric megalithic tower complexes known as nuraghi – the list could go on.²⁵ Why, then, study archaeophilia specifically in Roman Anatolia? I offer three related reasons, all having to do with the entangled claims of multiple stakeholders over the antiquities of Anatolia.

The first is the fact that, as is often touted in both tourist brochures and academic publications, Anatolia has been a crossroads of civilizations for millennia. Its key geopolitical position has ensured that, at least since the Bronze Age, there have been many conspicuous and imposing physical traces

of the past throughout the peninsula, as well as many individuals and communities who have cared about the origins and meanings of those monuments and objects. Moreover, since at least the second millennium BC, there have also existed textual records in a variety of languages and scripts that shed light on the historical significance of those monuments and objects *in antiquity*.²⁶ This abundant and diverse material and textual evidence provides insight into the opinions of many different ancient interpreters, and also, more generally, into the cross-cultural dynamics of archaeophilia in the region over several thousand years.

The second reason is that imperial and provincial pasts were intertwined in Roman Anatolia – arguably more so than elsewhere in the Mediterranean. From at least the second century BC onwards, many Roman historians imagined that Rome itself had been founded by exiles from Troy.²⁷ Roman emperors traced their roots to what was in their own day an otherwise insignificant town in western Anatolia. In Rome, other narratives about the origins of the city co-existed alongside the Trojan one (including, famously, that involving the she-wolf that suckled the twins Romulus and Remus).²⁸ Even so, the cultural relevance of the story of Aeneas and his wandering band of refugees made Anatolia's past a foundational part of Rome's own.

Roman emperors, on their part, were well aware that they themselves were latecomers to the peninsula. They knew that Rome ruled Anatolia as the most recent in a multi-millennial succession of empires that had left imposing remnants of former might in the Anatolian landscape. Conversely, the inhabitants of the peninsula in the first few centuries AD were virtually obsessed with their own origins: public orators made speeches about the foundation of cities great and small; coins honored epichoric heroes and their exploits; and public inscriptions as well as sculptural reliefs in theaters and other public buildings celebrated historical and mythological genealogies. When the cities of Anatolia vied against each other for political and financial privileges from Rome, they often did so by invoking local antiquity. Some Anatolians took advantage of the Trojan and divine ancestry of Roman emperors to make their claims, but many others looked elsewhere than to Rome when celebrating their Anatolian origins.²⁹ Pre-classical Anatolian ruins and statues, funerary mounds, inscriptions, and sometimes even entire landscapes served as historical evidence about the Anatolian past in the Roman present.

The third reason is that ancient and modern interests in the antiquities of the region are also themselves intricately entangled. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century AD, the ruined cities of ancient Anatolia were a major focus of European, Ottoman, and eventually also American archaeological endeavors. It was in Turkey, after all, where Heinrich Schliemann dug into a settlement mound that he identified as Homeric Troy.³⁰ Archaeology – at least as it has been practiced in the Mediterranean – came to be the discipline that

it now is partly in the ruins of ancient cities in Anatolia, including not just Troy, but also Ephesus, Pergamum, and Sardis. Not entirely independently of archaeological endeavors, modern scholars have sometimes recognized ancient Anatolian intellectuals such as Herodotus and Pausanias as historians and even archaeologists *avant la lettre*. Indeed, the opinions of such Greek and Roman archaeophiles about Anatolian antiquities have informed and limited those of modern scholars. For instance, although some nineteenth-century AD observers suspected that the colossal statue in Akpınar mentioned by Pausanias was bearded,³¹ many insisted on regarding the figure as female, dismissing their own autoptic observations in order to make sense of that monument through the writings of Pausanias.

Some of the specific questions that had concerned Pausanias in the second century AD about the ancient statue on Mount Sipylus (including who had carved it and how long ago) regained relevance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when early modern antiquarians and modern archaeologists attempted to explain that statue and other pre-classical Anatolian monuments as part of universal art history.³² Only on a handful of occasions, however, did classical authors unequivocally discuss such remains. Partly as a result of the scarcity of explicit references dealing with Anatolian antiquities in Greek and Latin literary texts, many monuments and objects in the peninsula posed serious taxonomic difficulties to antiquarians and archaeologists. Where did the statue of the Mother of the Gods fit in a global history of art and to whom did it belong culturally? For scholars in early Republican Turkey and beyond, such questions became increasingly urgent with the “rediscovery” and “rescue” of the Urartians and the Hittites and their impressive material remains during the late nineteenth and especially twentieth century.³³ Scholars debated whether the Bronze and Iron Age antiquities of Anatolia were related to later inhabitants of the region (including the Turks, Greeks, and Armenians).³⁴ European and American historical linguists quickly recognized the Hittites as the earliest attested speakers of an Indo-European language, and thus, as part of what was then called by some Indo-Aryan history.³⁵ By contrast, many Turkish academics and government officials in the early years of the Republic enthusiastically embraced the notion that the Hittites were somehow the predecessors of the Turks in Anatolia, entirely independently of linguistic filiations.³⁶

Indeed, the Hittites remain prominent and controversial in the Turkish historical and political imagination today, especially in Ankara, which is only 200 kilometers west of the ruins of the ancient capital of the Hittite Empire, Hattusas. Since the late 1970s, Ankara’s most recognizable landmark has been a gigantic replica of a Bronze Age Anatolian artifact: the so-called Hittite Sun Course monument.³⁷ When over the past few decades local leaders have threatened to take the piece down, protests have taken place on the monument



1.3 Protesters on and around the Hittite Sun Course Monument, Ankara 2007. (Courtesy of Kıvanç Kılınç.)

itself (Figure 1.3).³⁸ Although outside Turkey the Hittites – let alone the Urartians – are barely known except by specialists (and careful readers of the Bible),³⁹ they still challenge modern disciplinary boundaries: it remains unclear, for example, where exactly they should fit in European and American university departments.

EVIDENCE

Throughout this book I use two main types of evidence: on the one hand, artifacts found in Roman contexts that archaeologists now understand to have been made long before the classical period; and on the other, ancient texts that explicitly discuss monuments and objects thought by Roman authors to be the remains of former times in Anatolia. Occasionally I invoke also ethnographic and other comparative material, including a few incidents of interaction between Anatolian antiquities and modern archaeophiles (among whom I count antiquarians and archaeologists).

One of the defining characteristics of this book is that I very frequently combine material and textual evidence. In the face of the increasing specialization

of both classical philology and archaeology, I insist on using both simultaneously. The abundance of relevant texts and artifacts in the Anatolian peninsula provides many possible avenues of inquiry and increases the level of detail at which an investigation into ancient archaeophilia can be conducted. Texts offer semantic specificity, the possibility of understanding what exactly was envisioned when an ancient interpreter confronted even more ancient material remains. Conversely, as Ruth van Dyke and Susan Alcock have argued, “archaeology, and in some cases *only* archaeology, can do much to illuminate how people in the past conceived their past, and perceived their present and future.”⁴⁰ Let me illustrate briefly the virtues of this combined approach in a study of past uses of the past.

Only one of the many dozens of Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut reliefs and inscriptions of Anatolia is undeniably mentioned by a Roman period author: the statue of the Mother of the Gods on Mount Sipylus that Pausanias remembered in his discussion of the antiquities of Acraiae. Despite the near total absence of explicit textual references, the few sentences of Pausanias concerning that statue and a handful of other passages in classical, Hellenistic, and Late Antique authors demonstrate that ancient archaeophiles often reflected about who had made Bronze and Iron Age reliefs and inscriptions and for what purpose.⁴¹ More importantly, those passages shed light on ancient strategies of interpretation of pre-classical material remains. Texts prove, for instance, that Greek and Roman interpreters engaged in stylistic analysis of reliefs, sometimes invoking distant, indeed transcontinental comparanda; they also demonstrate that some ancient experts claimed to be able to access the precise content of Anatolian hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions, even if the former script was completely obsolete and the latter nearly so at the time of inspection.⁴²

Such references are rare. By contrast, abundant and varied archaeological evidence shows that almost every single one of the Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut monuments of the region was the object of later attention. Votive offerings left by the ancient reliefs, Greek inscriptions carved directly on them, and occasionally whole architectural complexes built in their vicinity are material proof that a wide variety of people – and not just the few ancient authors who wrote explicitly about such antiquities – cared deeply about pre-classical material remains and charged them with social, political, and religious significance. The point hardly needs emphasis: archaeological evidence expands the range of ancient interpreters available to modern scholars. It offers insight into ancient experiences that are simply not accessible when one considers texts alone.

Wherever there were conspicuous traces of the past in the Roman world, there were also different people who knew (or thought they knew) how to make sense of those traces: imperial expansion forced contact among

interpreters. Not all of the people who came together at the site of antiquities recorded their opinions in writing. Regardless of whether they did so or not, interpreters were often at odds about the origins, significance, and value of antiquities. The multiplicity of ancient interpreters and historical traditions that became entangled at the site of antiquities in Anatolia is indeed one of the most exciting aspects of this investigation. The demonstration that the social spectrum of people interested in and knowledgeable about ancient material remains is much broader than has traditionally been recognized by scholars has obvious resonances with the concerns of archaeologists working in more recent periods who attend to the interests of non-academic interpreters of the past, including indigenous and local communities, ethnic or religious minorities, and marginalized groups.⁴³

It is worth noting that despite abundant material and textual data, there have been major differences in how modern academics who work primarily with texts (e.g., literary historians and epigraphers), on the one hand, and archaeologists, on the other, have approached evidence of interest in the past in the first few centuries AD. Text-based scholars have meticulously analyzed the varied ways in which authors active during the first few centuries AD engaged with the Greek literary tradition. Modern academic fascination with the so-called Second Sophistic in particular resulted at least partly from the recognition that ancient authors effected strikingly sophisticated manipulations of the Greek literary tradition.⁴⁴ For instance, in the second century AD, Lucian of Samosata mimicked the Ionian dialect in which the Greek historian Herodotus had written in the fifth century BC, while at the same time pointedly subverting and even mocking the conventions of Herodotean ethnographic prose.⁴⁵ In the essays of Lucian, imitation of an early literary model was also a form of cultural critique. By contrast, ancient expertise about even more ancient material remains has deserved much less scholarly attention, even though it too was widespread, sophisticated, and perhaps more importantly, part of that same cultural phenomenon that is well attested in Second Sophistic literature.⁴⁶ In fact, people used the physical traces of the past to carry out analogous manipulations of the past to those performed by authors such as Lucian with texts. In Anatolia, material evidence of such manipulations has tended to be overlooked by archaeologists or at least not often brought into direct dialogue with the work of literary historians. Even to many classicists it sometimes comes as a surprise to learn about Greeks and Romans interacting directly with Hittite reliefs and Neo-Assyrian inscriptions. Their surprise is the result of transposing into antiquity historical and cultural frameworks that did not exist in Roman Anatolia. Only by defying disciplinary, cultural, and political boundaries that seem self-evident, but are today fraught with tension, is it possible to make sense of Roman period interactions with pre-classical material remains in the region.

The study of the history of ancient Anatolia, especially between the second millennium BC and the advent of Christianity, is in some ways more fractured than the study of that approximate period in, for example, ancient Egypt or Greece. Archaeologists and historians today recognize long-term cultural continuities in those countries and assume that pharaonic pyramids and Mycenaean fortifications were at least partly responsible for making the people of Roman Egypt and Roman Greece who they were. Moreover, cultural and linguistic continuity in ancient Egypt makes it obligatory for Egyptologists to study several millennia of regional history (frequently at the complete expense of the history of neighboring territories). Similarly, classicists readily recognize that Bronze Age material culture in Greece (for example, Linear B tablets or cyclopean fortifications) may somehow be relevant to their study of Homer.

In Anatolia, by contrast, profound cultural ruptures are generally thought to have severed the Greek and Roman history of the region from whatever came before. With the important exception of the citadel of Troy, even specialists detect mostly indifference and apathy for the material remains of pre-classical Anatolia among the inhabitants of the region. Additionally, it is frequently supposed that during the Greek and Roman period the Anatolians had their eyes firmly fixed on the West. These are odd assumptions: people in Roman Magnesia, Hierapolis, or Ancyra could not have known that twenty-first century AD archaeologists working in Europe and America would somehow consider Bronze and Iron Age material culture “pre-classical” and thus unrelated to “Roman” experience. There was no unsurmountable physical, intellectual, or spiritual obstacle keeping the inhabitants of “Roman” Anatolia from making sense of the physical traces of the “pre-classical” past in their midst. On the contrary, Pausanias and his contemporaries demonstrably explored, excavated, and reconstructed Neolithic mounds and archaic tumuli; they recorded translations of hieroglyphic and cuneiform inscriptions; they collected and displayed millennium-old statuary; very frequently, they had strong and specific opinions about when, why, and by whom all those things had been made in the first place.

Most of the individuals involved in those activities thought they understood the origins and meanings of the antiquities with which they interacted. More often than not, the antiquities in their midst were neither inexplicable, nor even culturally alien. In fact, the alleged lack of interest in local pre-classical ruins and the implied proto-Eurocentrism of many of the people of Roman Anatolia are disproved by the many cases in which those very people connected themselves to local monuments while commemorating figures whose geographic origins they traced back either to Anatolia itself or to regions further east – but at any rate, not to the Mediterranean or to Europe.⁴⁷ Unencumbered by the label “Hittite,” Pausanias and his contemporaries were not stumped by the statue on Mount Sipylus.⁴⁸ Ultimately, I hope that this study may clear the ground for

different histories of Anatolia, ones in which academic periodizations do not act as impermeable barriers, and material evidence and textual evidence are recognized to be on equal and partly overlapping ground.

CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

This book is organized as follows.

Chapter 2 asks who was interested in and knowledgeable about the physical traces of the past in the region. In other words, who were the *interpreters* in Roman Anatolia? All ancient interpreters thought they could understand and explain the material remains of former times to themselves, and often also to others. Although people were rarely at a loss about what was in front of them, there were many different approaches to ruins and other such indices of former times. Some archaeophiles collected and curated antiquities, others benefited from controlling access to them or even from producing brand new ones (as is suggested from the frequent reports of experts confronted by what they deemed to be fakes). This chapter centers on people, among whom are well-known Roman statesmen, travelers, and connoisseurs. I focus largely, however, on specifically Anatolian archaeophiles. The most famous of all such ancient experts is Pausanias. I discuss him along with his interlocutors and rival interpreters, as well as a variety of other people who interacted daily with the physical traces of antiquity: guides, religious officials, archivists, and more generally, local experts who had specialized knowledge about the material remains among which they lived. I shed light on the very wide social range of people interested in antiquities, on the dynamics of interaction among them, and on the different strategies of interaction with *realia* that those various people had.

Chapter 3 turns to the antiquities themselves by tackling a deceptively straightforward question: what *traces* of the past did ancient interpreters consider meaningful? I call attention to the fact that antiquities gained significance in context – in other words, they were not usually understood discretely. Rather, all such traces were conceptualized as part of complex material and mental groupings. By connecting heterogeneous and sometimes geographically distant traces of former times, ancient experts formed hermeneutic structures which served to frame or support specific historical narratives. The challenges of understanding such ancient structures are enormous because data are always fragmentary. They are not, however, insurmountable. It is easy to demonstrate that key components in the interpretative assemblages of ancient archaeophiles do not correspond to what modern archaeologists usually consider properly archaeological evidence. The discordance between ancient and modern understandings of what is a meaningful trace of the past has received little attention in archaeological scholarship, with the result that those studying uses of the past in the past have largely focused on what modern

scholars themselves consider meaningful evidence. By contrast, I pay particular attention to indices and connections that do not coincide with those that have been traditionally favored by modern archaeologists or by historians of archaeology.

Chapter 4 asks the following: what memory *horizons* did the inhabitants of the region envision when interpreting or manipulating the physical traces of the past in which they were interested? By memory horizons I mean the historical contexts that ancient interpreters themselves brought into focus when interacting with material remains. I explore not only the distance between ancient and modern understandings of, for example, a Neolithic hand ax, a Chalcolithic tell, or an inscription in one of the various Bronze and Iron Age scripts of Anatolia, but the distance separating ancient interpretations of such remains from one another. I am particularly interested in the heterogeneity of ancient memory horizons available to archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia and in the frequent intertwining or simultaneous co-existence of horizons. As mentioned above, Rome loomed large throughout much of the region, but Anatolian interpreters of antiquities also tapped into historical traditions that did not recognize Rome as a center, including ones that modern scholars associate more readily with Mesopotamia, Iran, the Levant, and the Caucasus. Much work has been done on the issue of local identity in the eastern Mediterranean. Chapter 4 adds to that scholarship by analyzing in detail how some traces of the past served to substantiate different, conflicting, and even contradictory historical narratives at local, regional, and transregional scales. The conclusions to this chapter summarize my opinions on archaeophilia as it is attested specifically in Roman Anatolia.

Chapters 2 through 4 are all very closely interrelated. Any instance of human interaction with the material remains of the past involves, minimally, interpreters, traces, and horizons. Had I organized the evidence geographically by region (e.g., Lydia, Cappadocia, Pontus, etc.), I might have potentially been able to conduct a finer-grained analysis of the specific historical and cultural circumstances in which the better-attested case studies took place, and perhaps also to track changes in attitudes towards antiquities in different parts of the peninsula over the half a millennium on which I concentrate. Why, then, have I organized the book as I have? This thematic approach allows me to juxtapose case studies, to illuminate evidence that would otherwise be hard to notice and very difficult to interpret, and to engage in comparison.⁴⁹ The last point is key. Ever finer-grained case studies of past uses of the past in Anatolia are welcome and necessary, but it is time also to engage in dialogue with scholars working on similar phenomena elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean, and indeed elsewhere in the world.

I zoom away in Chapter 5. Through a series of interrelated vignettes, I explore instances of Roman period archaeophilia in regions other than

Anatolia, ranging from Iberia to India and from Egypt to Azerbaijan. These vignettes are intended as an invitation to historians and archaeologists working in those regions to seek out their own interpreters, traces, and horizons and to explore the specific political and cultural circumstances of archaeophilia in different parts of the Roman world. [Chapter 6](#) serves as coda. In it I discuss how my analysis of Roman period evidence intersects with current discussions in archaeology and anthropology, and argue that the evidence treated in this book is fundamental to the long-term history of archaeology and antiquarianism, even without being evidence of either.

TWO

INTERPRETERS

First of all we must ask ourselves who the antiquaries were.¹

Arnaldo Momigliano made this deceptively simple proposal in 1950, in an essay whose main purpose was to distinguish early modern antiquaries – or antiquarians, as they are now more often called – from historians. Ever since its publication, that essay has informed the study of how various intellectuals in early modern Europe (and beyond) used *things*, as opposed to or in addition to *texts*, to construct historical narratives.² In this chapter, I focus on people in Roman Anatolia who were similarly interested in linking past time and present matter. The impulse to explore that linkage is what I have termed archaeophilia. I call people in Roman Anatolia archaeophiles, rather than antiquarians or archaeologists, for reasons I explain below. Archaeophiles have existed in many times and places. My goal here is not simply to prove that they existed also in the Roman world – Pausanias’s *Description of Greece* is sufficient proof of that. Rather, I want to explore who those people and their interlocutors were, how they made sense of the physical traces of the past in their midst, and why they were interested in them in the first place.

A minimal but explicit taxonomy of the terms I use in this book to differentiate among ancient archaeophiles is useful at the outset. I call “interpreter” anyone who is interested – however superficially or cursorily – in material remains of former times. An “expert,” by contrast, is someone with specialized knowledge about such remains: in other words, not the proverbial man or woman on the

street, but someone who – for a variety of reasons including, but not limited to, formal education or first-hand experience – knew more than most members of his or her community about the material remains of antiquity and could use those remains to make historical claims. I further characterize interpreters by calling attention to the various overlapping social factors that shaped those people's understanding of the traces of the past in which they were interested. I attempt to specify whether interpreters were, for example, local to Anatolia or foreign, literate or illiterate, elite or non-elite, male or female, and so on.

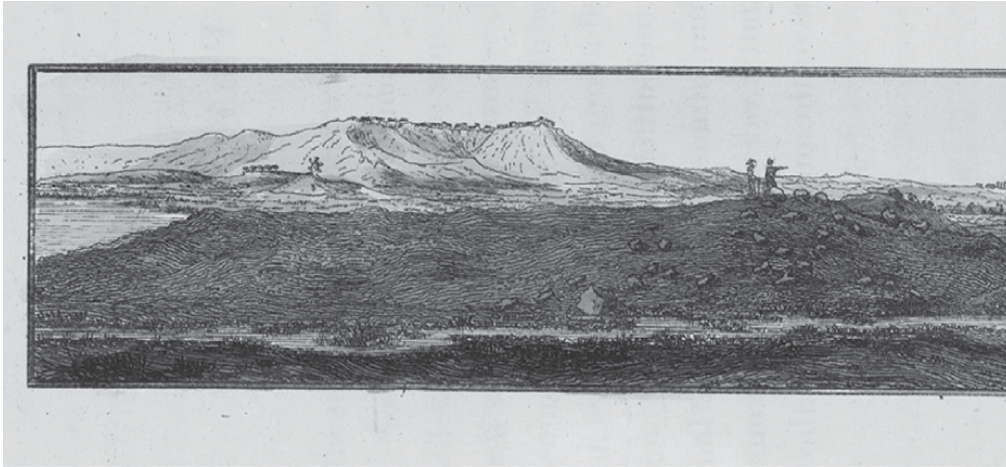
I never use the terms "antiquarian" or "archaeologist" to describe people in classical antiquity in order to avoid anachronisms. I am convinced that there is much to be gained by trying to understand ancient interpreters in terms that those people found meaningful, rather than concentrating on occasional coincidences between ancient and modern interests, discourses, and practices. I thus restrict "archaeologist" to professionals with academic training in the discipline of archaeology, none of whom lived before the nineteenth century AD, and I use the term "antiquarian" to refer *only* to those early modern European interpreters whom scholars since Momigliano have studied in detail.³ It is worth noting explicitly that one of the reasons the term "antiquarian" is inappropriate to describe people like Herodotus or Pausanias is because for Greek and Roman archaeophiles – even expert ones – interests in *things* were not independent from, much less favored altogether over, related interests in *texts*. The distinction between those two types of evidence, while crucial for early modern European antiquarianism, was simply not an important aspect of archaeophilia in the classical Mediterranean.⁴

Who, then, were the archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia?

CAESAR AND THE "PHRYGIAN" PEASANT AT TROY

I begin not in the Roman period, but rather with two early nineteenth-century archaeophiles standing on a mound overlooking the plains and hills of Troy (Figure 2.1). This watercolor was painted by English antiquarian Sir William Gell (1777–1836). In the distance, to the left of the figures, there is a windmill and, above it, a village on a hill; to the right of the men rise the minarets of distant mosques and, even further away, the masts of tall ships. An accompanying caption makes it clear that it is neither the buildings nor the boats, but rather the unbuilt and apparently empty landscape that is infused with history and myth. Gell's caption seems to record the words of the figure who is pointing at the landscape and explaining it to his companion:

The junction of the rivers Scamander and Simois in the plain between the city Troy and the sea, is mentioned by Homer. Juno and Pallas are said to alight on that spot when they descended to aid the Greeks. The



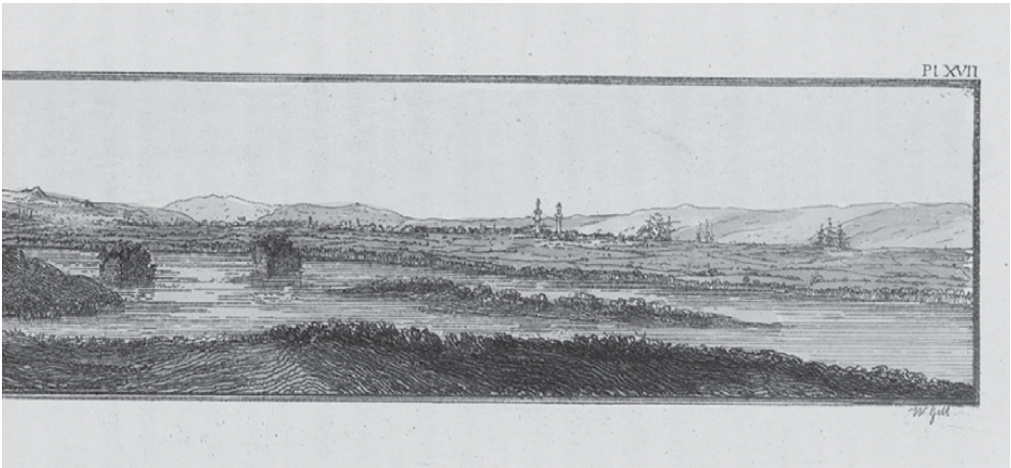
2.1 Trojan landscape, Sir William Gell, *The Topography of Troy, and its Vicinity*, 1804, plate xvii. (Courtesy of the University of Cologne.)

streams, thus united, separated the plain into three portions. The central division was called the Trojan, and sometimes the Ilieian Field. That part which extended along the left bank of Scamander was called the Scamandrian Field, and although we find no mention in the *Iliad* of that portion of the plain, situated on the right bank of the Simois, it is a natural inference that it received its name from the neighbouring stream, and indeed we have the authority of Strabo for calling it the Simoisian Field.⁵

With this note, Gell flaunts his classical learning, but leaves the two human figures wholly unexplained. Both of them are early modern antiquarians who thought they could locate Homer's Troy in the peninsula known in Turkish as Biga Yarmadası. Despite minarets and tall ships, Gell and many of his readers were convinced that a tenuous but precious cultural thread, in the form of ancient Greek and Latin texts, tied them to a Homeric past that could still be found and even experienced in their present. While Gell's caption was a demonstration of literary erudition, the drawing served as proof of autopsy. It confirmed that Gell had been in Troy and that his knowledge was also direct and unmediated.

Early modern Europeans considered themselves to be the rediscoverers and rescuers of classical antiquity, but they had not been the first to try to glean the traces of Homeric epic in the Trojan landscape. That very exercise had been practiced at Troy for millennia.⁶ At some point in the latter half of the first century BC, for instance, two Roman period archaeophiles came together near where Gell would eventually stand and engaged in an analogous attempt to elucidate Homeric topography in Roman Ilium:

He [i.e., Julius Caesar] strolls through what is left of famous Troy and searches for the grand remains of Apollo's wall. Bramble bushes and



rotten tree trunks with worn-out roots occupy the palace of Assaracus [a local king of old] and the temples of the gods. All Pergamum [as Troy was also sometimes called in classical poetry] is covered in thickets – even the ruins are ruined! He scopes the cliffs where Hesione [had been bound by her own father to be devoured by a sea monster] and the bed chamber of Anchises [father of Aeneas] now besieged by vegetation; and the cave where the judge sat [i.e., the Trojan prince Paris when he deemed Aphrodite fairest of goddesses], the spot where the boy [Ganymede] was snatched up [by Zeus] from heaven, and the exact place where the naiad Oeneone sobbed [when Paris spurned her for Helen]. No stone is without name. Unknowingly, he had crossed the dry dust-bed of a snaking creek that had once been [the river] Xanthus. As he confidently steps through the tall grass, a “Phrygian” peasant keeps him from treading on the shades of Hector. On the ground were stones that in no way seemed sacred, the [“Phrygian”] informant says [to Caesar]: “Have you no respect for the altar of Zeus-of-the-enclosure?”⁷

Thus, the poet Lucan imagined a chance meeting between the Roman general Julius Caesar and an Anatolian peasant. The scene is fictional, but it sheds light on the dynamics of interaction among archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia. The protagonists seem almost perfectly antithetical: Roman vs. Anatolian, colonizer vs. colonized, general vs. peasant. Other oppositions are similarly clear-cut. The poet contrasts the greatness of Troy in the general’s mind against its apparent inconspicuousness on the ground, as well as the distinct individuality of Julius Caesar against the peasant’s all but complete anonymity. That peasant, in fact, may be standing for any “Phrygian” whatsoever, arguably even for any Anatolian.⁸ Stark binary contrasts (local vs. foreign, expert vs. lay person, literate vs. illiterate, etc.) are not unusual in Greek and Roman literary accounts

of encounters between interpreters of antiquities⁹. While it is often the case that traveling experts such as Cicero, Strabo, or Pausanias frequently trumped up their own punditry against the naïveté of local informants, in this passage both the fictional Caesar and the fictional peasant know and care about the Homeric past in the Trojan landscape. Lucan thus adds a twist to his generic model. The dynamics of interaction in his imagined Troy invert those at play in many classical narratives; for, unexpectedly, it is the “Phrygian” peasant here who shows the Roman general where exactly the past is to be found in the landscape, and not the other way around. A Trojan hick schooled the blood-descendant of the goddess Venus on the minutiae of ancient topography – or so it appears.

The above passage has been the subject of very different readings by modern literary critics. Is Lucan’s general so ignorant and cavalier that he is lost at Troy? Is it really *only* through the “guide’s intervention” that “old Troy comes alive,” as Shadi Bartsch suggested?¹⁰ Or does the general’s silence belie instead the indifference of the most powerful man in the Roman Mediterranean, suddenly confronted by a self-important country-man? In the opinion of Andreola Rossi, Lucan’s Caesar is not clueless; rather, he meticulously surveys the Trojan landscape as the founder of a new Rome, a Rome that will be built partly on what was left of old Troy.¹¹ Caesar visited Anatolia soon after his decisive victory in the battle of Pharsalus in 48 BC. The general’s silence as he strolls through the ruins of the city of his ancestors may have been less nostalgic than forward-looking, even vaticinatory. If so, it is the Phrygian peasant who is ignorant – not about the ruins of the Homeric past, which he evidently knows intimately, but about contemporary geopolitics. That peasant is lost in a present that now belongs to Caesar and to Rome.

Lucan’s verses force obvious, but difficult questions. Who is the expert and who the amateur? What exactly is left for them to see on the ground? And what is the best way each had to make sense of those remains? Trojan topography does not announce its Homeric pedigree to observers on its own. Lucan’s account of this encounter highlights the difficulty of anchoring the *Iliad* in the landscape. It also implies that even when social and cultural asymmetries among interpreters are extreme – as those between Julius Caesar and the “Phrygian” peasant – information flows in multiple directions. It is easy to speculate about how Caesar made sense of the Trojan landscape. Like any aristocratic Roman in his time, he was well acquainted with the Homeric poems. Elite men and women would have made sense of the topography of Troy by mapping ancient literary learning on to it – much as the antiquarian Gell would do in the nineteenth century AD. The peasant, on his part, was familiar with the physical traces of the past in Troy in ways that a newcomer to the ruins, no matter how well educated or powerful, could not have been. The peasant may well have been illiterate. And yet, evidently, he too knew stories of Homeric heroes. In Lucan’s own words, it was the “Phrygian” who showed

his visitor where the traces of the *Iliad* were to be found on the ground. That peasant was a *monstrator*, one who shows, an informant or guide.

The worlds of these two archaeophiles were not fully independent of each other. Despite massive political, social, and cultural inequalities between them, first-hand experience and literary erudition were both valuable at the site of antiquities. That there is no modern scholarly agreement about who was the expert in Lucan's Troy is a deliberate result of Lucan's obfuscating the location of authority. But that lack of consensus also reflects that little scholarly attention has been paid to how the peasant (and people like him) came to acquire their own historical and topographical knowledge, and more generally, how they came to know what they knew about the traces of the past among which they lived.

Almost invariably, it is easier for modern scholars to understand the motivations, strategies of interpretation, and historical frameworks favored by adult, male, elite, Roman, experts than it is those of many of their contemporaries and interlocutors not described by these adjectives. After all, it is almost exclusively the opinions of the former that have come down to us explicitly in writing. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude as a result of this imbalance that men and women such as the Phrygian peasant did not have their own reasons to interact with the physical traces of the past, or that their sources of knowledge or strategies of interpretation were – by default – more naïve than those of people like Caesar, or that they had no historicizing interests and hermeneutic strategies to make sense of material remains. It would also be a mistake to assume that the opinions of people such as the *monstrator* at Troy are now irrecoverable.

The above passage of Lucan may seem like an odd starting point for my investigation. After all, what can the poem of a young Roman aristocrat tell us about what actual archaeophiles on the ground thought about Anatolian antiquities or about each other? If nothing else, Lucan's protagonists reveal the almost unlimited social range of people interested in the physical traces of the past in the Roman Mediterranean. Troy is unique because it is the exact spot where the histories of Rome and Anatolia are most tightly intertwined, but material remnants of former times throughout the peninsula also attracted the attention of foreigners and locals. Only occasionally did Roman emperors and Anatolian peasants interact without any mediation, and yet asymmetrical encounters analogous to that imagined by Lucan happened daily at the site of antiquities in the region. Ruins were lively contact zones – dialogue and debate were inevitable.¹²

C. LICINIUS MUCIANUS, PLINY THE ELDER, AND THE TEMPLE-WARDENS OF ASIA

Rarely is there a direct textual record of what the local interlocutors of an emperor or more generally of an aristocratic expert thought about the physical

traces of the past. Even so, the writings of ancient travelers – often aristocrats – provide insight into the experiences of local archaeophiles. In this section, I use the fragments of one such author to shed light on the role of his interlocutors in providing access to antiquities and making sense of them.

Gaius Licinius Mucianus was as close to the nucleus of political power in Rome as one could be without being emperor – allegedly by choice. In the pithy pronouncement of Tacitus: “He would more quickly hand over empire to others, than be emperor himself.”¹³ Mucianus was born in the western Mediterranean, probably in Iberia; yet he knew the Roman East intimately well, having spent many years in Anatolia, Armenia, and Syria in a variety of administrative and military posts under the emperors Claudius and Nero.¹⁴ He was thrice consul, and in the mid-60s AD he acted as governor of the province of Lycia-Pamphylia in southwestern Anatolia, after which he commanded legions in Syria. He died in the mid- to late 70s AD in the reign of the emperor Vespasian.¹⁵

Mucianus was the epitome of a Roman elite archaeophile. None of his writings are extant, but snippets of them are preserved in the *Natural History* of his contemporary, Pliny the Elder – and only there. These fragments have often been explained by modern scholars as belonging to the genre of paradoxography, which was concerned with wondrous, abnormal, and inexplicable phenomena.¹⁶ George Williamson, however, has argued that the passages are more in keeping with the conventions of ancient travel literature.¹⁷ In fact, Williamson claims that “Mucianus’ travels are perhaps better seen as an early precursor of the sorts of travel undertaken or described by later writers of the Second Sophistic such as Pausanias, Lucian, or Aelius Aristides, for like them he was no naïve tourist.”¹⁸ One may even argue that these literate travelers had even earlier predecessors than Mucianus, including the consul Aemilius Paulus, for example, who had already combined administrative duties with sightseeing of antiquities during his famous tour of Greece in 167 BC.¹⁹

From the thirty-two references to Mucianus in Pliny, it is clear that the consul was not just an avid traveler, but also a connoisseur of antiquities. He made an effort to inspect and personally manipulate the physical traces of the local past in the places he visited. On one occasion, he even made a tally of local antiquities. Mucianus was also a gourmand: he had refined opinions about matters of gastronomical import, such as the best age of Maronean wine and the diverse qualities of oysters from around the Mediterranean and beyond.²⁰ This last point may seem trivial except that the acquisition of expert knowledge about the physical traces of the past was not simply a literary or merely mental exercise, but often also corporeal and even performative.²¹ In fact, embodied interaction with antiquities was a defining characteristic of much Roman period archaeophilia. Mucianus also compiled and edited ancient texts, practices described in a passage of Tacitus that refers to him

specifically as an *antiquarius*.²² Ronald Mayer glosses the term as “an admirer of the distant past” and states that it is used specifically in reference to literary students.²³ As will become clear in the next few paragraphs, however, the distinction between texts and things was simply not central to the experience of Roman *antiquarii*.

The excerpts I examine here all concern Mucianus’s interpretation and manipulation of the physical traces of the past in the eastern Mediterranean. Four of them involve artifacts that Mucianus saw in Anatolia proper. The following passage, however, concerns a votive offering on the island of Rhodes, off the coast of Caria and Lycia:

This may surprise people who do not know that in a breastplate that belonged to a former king of Egypt named Amasis, preserved in the temple of Minerva at Lindos on the Island of Rhodes, each thread consisted of 365 separate threads, a fact which Mucianus who held the consulship three times, stated that he had proved to be true by investigation very recently, adding that only small remnants of the breastplate now survive owing to the damage by persons examining its quality.²⁴

So many travelers before Mucianus had made an effort to visit the famous sanctuary of Athena Lindia and make a thread-count of the ancient Egyptian pharaoh’s breastplate that the artifact survived only in tatters when the consul saw it. Clearly, visitors other than Mucianus also valued first-hand interaction – in this particular case, direct tactile engagement – with the remnants of the past, even if it came at the cost of damaging or destroying those remnants. It is easy to imagine local Rhodian experts, wardens of the sanctuary, who controlled the possibility of manipulating the votive offering of a pharaoh. They may have demanded a fee for allowing foreign visitors to touch an artifact mentioned by no less an authority than Herodotus.²⁵ Like many of his elite peers, Mucianus was especially interested in material remains of antiquity that had a literary as well as a physical existence.²⁶ Roman aristocrats would have all read many of the same canonical texts, but not all of them would have held in their own hands the famed breastplate of Amasis. Direct first-hand experience set apart experts from amateurs and also experts from one another.

The question of competition among expert archaeophiles is complicated in the case of Mucianus by the fact that we only have access to his writings through those of Pliny. In fact, scholars have frequently noted that it is not always possible to determine with certainty whether one should attribute a thought to Mucianus or to Pliny.²⁷ On occasion, however, the matter is clear because Pliny openly challenges his source. This occurs, for instance, in the following excerpt:

Moreover, the Mucianus who was three times consul has stated recently that, when governor of Lycia, he had read a certain letter of Sarpedon

written on paper [*chartam*] at Troy – which seems to me [i.e., to Pliny] even more remarkable if even when Homer was writing, Egypt did not yet exist.²⁸

Pliny was aware that the materiality of an inscribed artifact could be used as a chronological gauge or at least as a means to place that artifact in a historical sequence relative to others. Combining material connoisseurship with Homeric learning, Pliny continues to show off his expertise on paper products and manufacture:²⁹

And why, if he [i.e., Sarpedon] had used [paper], is there evidence that people used to write on lead and linen? Or, why would Homer have said that, in that very place, namely in Lycia, writing tablets [*codicillos*]³⁰ were given to Bellerophon and not a letter [written on paper as Mucianus argues]?³¹

Pliny's antagonistic gloss on Mucianus's report is not exceptional. He also questions, for instance, the usefulness of Mucianus's enumeration of the many statues that the consul had seen in Rhodes.³² Such criticisms, along with the frequent difficulty of ascertaining the authority of the information contained in Pliny's citations of the fragments of Mucianus, highlight the competitive spirit of elite archaeophilia in Rome. Traveling connoisseurs wrangled with each other, with former and future Roman authors, and also with local experts.

For the purposes of this discussion, the possibility of distinguishing between the opinions of Pliny and those of Mucianus is of less importance than that of recognizing the roles played by the Asian interpreters with whom Mucianus engaged in conversation. Although the extant fragments only seldom explicitly mention Mucianus's local interlocutors, their presence can be easily surmised. In the excerpt just quoted, for example, it was surely the Lycians, perhaps specifically the wardens of the Sarpedonion in Xanthus,³³ who allowed the consul to read the piece of "paper" [*chartam*] that they claimed was a letter written by Sarpedon, the Homeric hero.

Elsewhere in Anatolia, epigraphic evidence attests to the existence of documentary connoisseurs, archivists with expert knowledge of local textual records. A 1 BC inscription from Nysa on the Maeander, for instance, involves precisely one such archivist, a local archaeophile who seems to have served as a keeper of important documents, perhaps like the person who showed Mucianus the letter of Sarpedon:

Artemidorus Papas, son of Demetrius, one of the generals of the city, oversaw the restoration to the record office of the holy documents about the gods and their inviolability and right of supplication and the tax immunity belonging to the temple, after appearing before the proconsul Gnaeus Lentulus Augur and bringing back the following letter.³⁴

Artemidorus of Nysa recovered holy documents – presumably ancient documents – that confirmed the privileges of the local Plutonium and presented them to a visiting Roman provincial governor. That governor, in turn, approved their addition to the “record office” or *grammateion* (which was either a papyrus archive or a document wall like the one found at Aphrodisias³⁵). Among those privileges ratified by the proconsul Lentulus was an exemption from taxes. Evidently, archaeophilia – in this case of a textual and archival variety – could result in fiscal benefits.³⁶

The dynamics of interaction between Mucianus and the Lycian temple wardens described above were not altogether different from those between Artemidorus and the Roman proconsul. In both cases, ancient documents were used by local experts as a means to engage and involve (prominent or powerful) visitors in matters of local import. The “letter of Sarpedon” may have been manufactured precisely to enable such involvement. Ancient texts – including specifically letters – were copied and often proudly displayed to make historical claims.³⁷ Sometimes, those texts were forged or fabricated *ex novo*.³⁸ Regardless of who had physically produced the “letter of Sarpedon,” one cannot help but wonder how they had done so: what sort of “paper” had the forgers used? Had the text on the letter been written in a deliberately archaizing dialect? Did Sarpedon’s purported handwriting actually look “Homeric”?³⁹ We do not know what Mucianus himself thought about that letter, but from Pliny’s report it appears likely that the consul did not openly express skepticism about its authenticity.

And yet, Mucianus was not gullible. On the contrary, like many other Roman aristocrats abroad, he was a discerning judge of the physical traces of the past. Like those other aristocrats, he too placed a premium on autopsy and personal interaction with antiquities, as the following excerpt again demonstrates:

It is believed that ebony lasts an extremely long time, and also cypress and cedar, a clear verdict about all timbers being given in the temple of Diana at Ephesus, in as much as though the whole of Asia was building it the temple took 120 years to complete. It is agreed that its roof is made of beams of cedar, but as to the actual statue of the goddess there is some dispute, with all the older writers saying that it is made of ebony, but one of the people who have most recently seen it and wrote about it, Mucianus, who was three times consul, states that it is made of the wood of the vine, and has never been altered although the temple has been restored seven times, and that this material was chosen by Endoeus – Mucianus actually specifies the name of the artist which for my [i.e., Pliny’s] part I think surprising since he assigns to the statue an antiquity that makes it older than not only Father Liber but Minerva also. He adds that nard is poured into it through a number of apertures that the chemical properties of the liquid may nourish the wood and keep the joins together.⁴⁰

This complicated paragraph sheds more light on the competitive dimension of Roman archaeophilia. Once again, Pliny's opinions do not coincide exactly with those of Mucianus. Pliny shows off his art-historical and literary connoisseurship, and specifically, his ability to place various artists, artworks, and historical or mythological events in a joint chronological sequence. He approvingly transmits Mucianus's report that the wooden statue of Artemis was made of vine and not of ebony, as unnamed others erroneously claimed, and also that the statue had remained the same despite many restorations to the temple.⁴¹ With respect to these two points, Mucianus's personal observations trump literary tradition in the eyes of Pliny. And yet Pliny finds Mucianus's identification of the sculptor inconsistent with Mucianus's own opinion about its great antiquity. The sculptor Endoeus had lived in the sixth century BC, but Mucianus transmits stories, which he had presumably heard in the sanctuary of Artemis, that would have made the statue much older than the gods Liber and Minerva. In Pliny's eyes, this was patently inconsistent. How could Mucianus have determined the age of the statue and the identity of the sculptor? Did Ephesian temple wardens claim that it was older than *some* gods? Were these claims of antiquity meant to impress visitors from the west? Were the wardens asserting that Anatolian carving traditions were older than Greek ones (as Pausanias seems to have thought when inspecting the antiquities of Acriae in the Peloponnese)?⁴²

As Williamson has pointed out, the writings of the consul "reveal a continual awareness of the importance of both witness (autopsy) and physicality (the sense of touch)."⁴³ I would expand Williamson's point by insisting that many experts in the Roman world valued direct first-hand engagements with material remains involving not just sight and touch, but in fact all of the senses. I should point out also that embodied expertise was not an exclusive privilege of aristocrats. In fact, the urge to engage intimately with material remains of former times had the potential to skew or shift the power dynamics among different interpreters. It transcended social classes, even if it was inevitably also informed by them. In this respect, archaeophilia can be further distinguished from antiquarianism, which is often described as being restricted to elites or, at any rate, to upper social classes. It is easy to overlook the embodied dimensions of archaeophilia because, until relatively recently, archaeologists have generally not been interested in exploring sensorial experiences in antiquity, even if such experiences are inevitably part of the way archaeologists and art historians themselves engage with antiquities today.⁴⁴

We can only speculate about whether Mucianus or some other nameless experts in Roman Ephesus actually clambered up scaffolding and ladders to inspect beams and rafters in order to probe or outright contest local traditions about the antiquity of the temple of Artemis. Did he personally determine the species of wood that was used to make the temple's roof

or did he read about it in earlier authorities? What is certain is that other ancient experts also used beams to make claims about the early date of buildings.⁴⁵

Expert archaeophiles in the Roman Mediterranean were attentive to local strategies of conservation. Pausanias, for example, noticed that ancient bronze shields in the Athenian agora had been covered with pitch to prevent decay, and Pliny the Elder discusses the conservation of paintings.⁴⁶ Mucianus saw an old statue made of vine and he was present while specialists were at work on its conservation. His engagement was more than merely visual: when the conservators poured nard on the *xoanon* of Artemis in Ephesus, Mucianus smelled the aromatic oil that kept its joins from cracking. Experts coveted first-hand interaction with antiquities; they wanted not only to read ancient texts with their own eyes, but also to touch and even taste and smell the traces of the past. For this very reason, Mucianus held a banquet inside a very old plane tree in Lycia – a tree so large that he accommodated eighteen members of his retinue within it. For his readers in Rome, a description of that old tree would have been less evocative than one of the banquet he had held inside it.⁴⁷

Finally, it is useful to make an explicit observation regarding the motivations of Mucianus and many of his interlocutors. Most of the incidents I have just discussed took place in religious settings. It would be a mistake, however, to explain Mucianus's interest in the material remains of the past as merely "religious." Archaeophilia and religious piety were often intertwined in the Roman world: gods, after all, could and did reside in things, often in old things. And yet, as should be clear from Mucianus's inspection of the letter of Sarpedon or the breastplate of Amasis, the consul was partly driven by what could be described anachronistically as secular interests, such as the desire to manipulate objects mentioned by canonical Greek authors, including Homer and Herodotus.⁴⁸

One further example of Mucianus's interaction with ancient artifacts with literary pedigree may be used to clarify this last point. In Cnidus, Mucianus visited the sanctuary of Aphrodite and inspected old murex shells venerated there. He did so because he valued those mollusks' remarkable biographies.⁴⁹ The shells in the sanctuary were precious because they had allegedly clung to a ship in full sail and brought it to a complete halt by doing so. With that action the mollusks had prevented some noble youths from being transported to Sardis in order to be castrated at the behest of Periander, the seventh-century BC tyrant of Corinth.⁵⁰ For Mucianus, those murex shells had value as historical evidence: they proved that, more than half a millennium before his own time, the *Cnidians* had saved those youths from being turned into eunuchs. They also contradicted stories – including the account of Herodotus himself – according to which it had been the *Samians* who had done so. If it had been the Samians, why would the mollusks be in Cnidus?⁵¹

The fragments of Mucianus furnish valuable evidence about the dynamics of interaction among multiple interpreters as it took place both synchronically (between Roman and Anatolian expert archaeophiles at the site of antiquities) and diachronically (among members of literate communities with traditions that extended back at least to the beginnings of Greek literature – and even further back in some parts of the Roman world, including Egypt and Mesopotamia). These passages also illuminate key aspects of archaeophilia, including the agonistic attitudes of experts and the high value they placed on direct sensorial engagements with antiquities. More specifically, they offer insight into the kinds of arguments archaeophiles made to display the superiority of their own authority against the opinions of others, and the strategies of interpretation those experts used to investigate matters such as absolute dating, relative sequencing, authorship, and authenticity of material remains. In addition, the brief report concerning the breastplate of Amasis in Rhodes points to the sheer abundance of ancient interpreters of physical traces of the past and documents the awareness of at least one Roman expert concerning what might be called, again anachronistically, the risk that eager tourists posed to cultural heritage.

PAUSANIAS, THE LYDIAN GUIDES, AND THE PLOWMEN IN TEMENOTHYRAE

Local interpreters appear in Lucan's fictional account of Caesar's visit to Troy. Their presence can also be surmised, indirectly, from Pliny's reports of Mucianus's interactions with antiquities at various sanctuaries in Asia. It is also possible, however, to access Anatolian archaeophiles in their own words and through the analysis of archaeological remains. Several passages of Pausanias's *Description of Greece* record the interactions Pausanias had with various local informants.⁵² Among them is an explicit report of an incident in which he explains to his readers not only the physical traces of the Lydian past and where those traces fit in relation to pan-Mediterranean history, but also who some of his own interlocutors and rival interpreters were:

But this to me was a marvel. In Upper Lydia there is a city of no great size called Temenothyrae, where a mound cracked open after a storm and some bones became visible; their shape suggested that they were those of a man, but on account of their size it would not seem so. Immediately a story went about among the many that the corpse was that of Geryon, son of Chrysaor, and that the throne was his too; for there is a man's throne carved in a rocky outcrop of a mountain. And a seasonal stream [that flowed there] they called Ocean; and they said that some men while ploughing had come upon the horns of cows, for the story goes that Geryon bred excellent cows. But when I contradicted them and pointed



2.2 The “throne” in Kızıldağ (photo by Gertrude Bell). (Gertrude Bell Archive – Newcastle University.)

out that Geryon is at Cadiz where there is no tomb, but there is a tree that takes different shapes, then the Lydian expounders revealed the true story: that the corpse was that of Hyllus, that Hyllus was son of Earth, and that the river was named after him. They said, too, that Heracles called his son Hyllus after the river on account of his former sojourn with Omphale.⁵³

The “throne carved in a rocky outcrop of a mountain” mentioned by Pausanias has not been identified by modern archaeologists. Readers may perhaps imagine it as a feature similar to the prominent rock-cut feature in Kızıldağ (coincidentally also known as a “throne”) that lies some 200 kilometers east of Temenothyrae (Figure 2.2).⁵⁴ Here I want to highlight two key points before involving the different characters who came together at Temenothyrae. The first concerns the fact that all sorts of people, and not just elite traveling experts, did in fact make historical claims about the physical traces of the past. Lucan’s account of the encounter between Caesar and the peasant at Troy already suggested this much. The second point I mention here in passing but discuss at length below in Chapter 3: when ancient interpreters tried to make sense of the physical traces of the past in their midst, they did not analyze those

traces as isolated features. In Temenothyrae, for instance, a hill, a larger-than-life-size skeleton, a rock-cut “throne,” a winter torrent, and the horns of cows *all* jointly provided evidence for the different historical narratives about local history advanced by Pausanias and his interlocutors.

Who were the archaeophiles who came together in Temenothyrae? Pausanias is the paradigmatic ancient connoisseur. His authority was partly derived from literary learning and partly from first-hand experience and travel. If, as scholars have frequently noted, he should be considered an insider when writing about Greece for a Roman audience, he was even more of an insider when writing specifically about western Anatolia. In the passage just quoted he portrays himself outdoing local experts in his and their native country. On the handful of occasions when Pausanias describes his Lydian homeland,⁵⁵ he writes using an outsider’s terms to explain a situation that he understood perfectly well from within – in other words, as an auto-ethnographer.⁵⁶

There is no doubt that the *Description of Greece* is an exceptional document. One scholar deemed it “for archaeologists the most important book to have survived from antiquity, and ... indispensable for epigraphists and students of religion.”⁵⁷ But how exceptional was Pausanias as an archaeophile? One of the difficulties posed by this question is that since at least the nineteenth century Pausanias has seemed strikingly familiar to many classicists. Christian Habicht, whose 1985 monograph on him resulted in an explosion of academic interest in the writings of Pausanias, even claimed that a famous passage of the *Description of Greece* (2.16.3–7), in which the author describes the myths, history, and antiquities of Mycenae, could be considered “the origin of what may be called professional archaeology.”⁵⁸ Whether or not Habicht’s claim is warranted, early modern and modern antiquarians and archaeologists perceived intense affinities with Pausanias. In fact, many early modern readers saw in him a distant reflection of themselves – as if the *Description of Greece* were a sort of ancient “mirror of archaeologists.”

Indeed, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century AD European travelers in Greece and Egypt felt a flash of recognition upon encountering passages (including the one quoted above) in which Pausanias recorded the opinions of local interpreters only to boast about the superiority of his own analysis. So too did those antiquarians and archaeologists frequently dismiss the opinions of their living interlocutors in favor of their own text-based authority and that of Pausanias. The Irish antiquarian Edward Dodwell (1767–1832), for instance, made the following suggestion as to how to deal with local informants when traveling through Greece:

A traveler must not expect to derive any information whatever from the generality of Greeks upon the antiquities of their country, but must extricate himself as well as he can, from the dark mazes of conjecture

and uncertainty, by the topographical light of Pausanias, and by the few scattered materials of some other authors.⁵⁹

It is easy to understand why Dodwell and the antiquarians felt as close as they did to Pausanias. Although Pausanias obviously did not have the specific outlook of an early modern antiquarian, he too made historical arguments based on scattered physical and textual evidence and he was relatively systematic in his analysis of antiquities. But does either of those traits make him unique? Pausanias's interlocutors also made historical arguments based on physical evidence, and it is impossible to determine just how systematic they were. The Lydian *exegetai* (ἐξηγηταί), or guides, were not garrulous touts with little understanding of the physical traces of the past in their homeland. As Christopher Jones has explained in relation to this very passage, they themselves were experts: "gens moyen cultivés, educated but not learned."⁶⁰ One outstanding factor arguably separating the guides from Pausanias was the extent of their respective travels and education, and, consequently, the sphere of expertise and variety of comparanda each could invoke in a discussion about antiquities. While Pausanias had personally ventured far from Anatolia, the *exegetai* at Temenothyrae – presumably – were only familiar with the antiquities of Lydia.

Pausanias does not relate the exact details of the debate by the "throne." Evidently, he called attention to remote antiquities to counter the claims of those who thought the bones and landmarks were associated with Geryon. Comparison and contrast with distant artifacts and monuments are characteristics of Pausanias's interpretative method.⁶¹ By claiming that he knew of antiquities in the western end of the Mediterranean, Pausanias was competitively positioning himself against the Lydian guides. And yet, evidently, the Lydian guides themselves could make claims about distant lands as they did at Temenothyrae, ultimately in support of Pausanias's own interpretation, and as is also attested in a passage of the hypochondriac dream-interpreter Artemidorus of Daldis, a fellow Lydian and a near contemporary of Pausanias. In addressing Cassius Maximus (presumably the rhetorician Maximus of Tyre), Artemidorus mentions experts "who expound matters about our homeland" and asserts that those people knew of historical bonds between Lydians and Phoenicians.⁶² Evidently, the Lydian *exegetai* were not myopically provincial – indeed, their own intellectual horizons extended far beyond Anatolia.

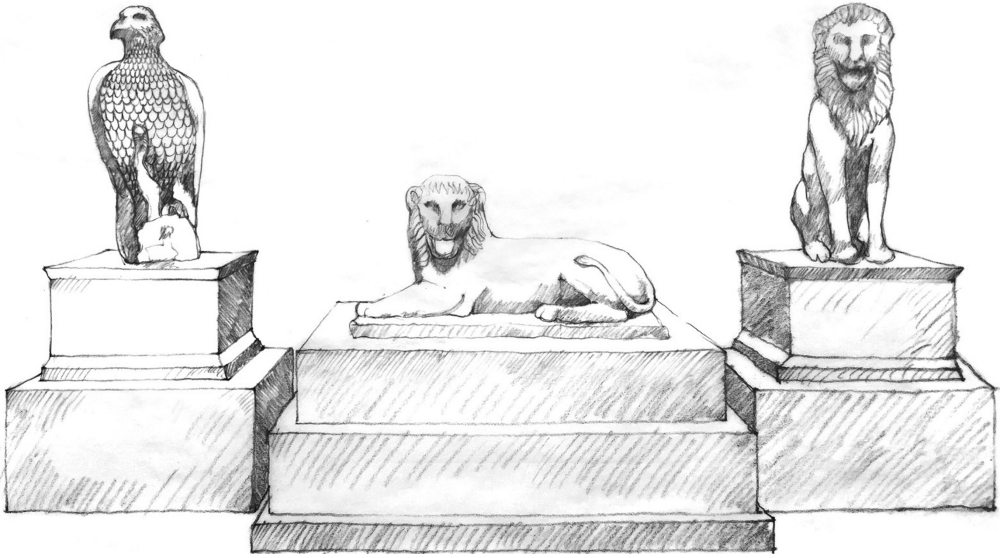
Finally, the plowmen mentioned by Pausanias are analogous to Lucan's "Phrygian" peasant. Any inhabitant of Roman Anatolia would have come across traces of prior human habitation in their landscape; many would have had ideas about what such traces were. In particular, people who tilled the soil would have frequently unearthed things that had been previously buried; this happened as much in urban as in rural settings. The fourth-century AD orator



2.3 Nannas Bakivalis monument (in front of Turkish workmen), partially re-erected during excavation, Sardis. (Howard Crosby Butler Archive, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.)

Libanius, for example, explicitly describes the frequency of such chance finds as well as the intermixing of old and new artifacts in the process of the regular urban renovation of Antioch: “Thus today, when you excavate in order to lay a foundation, everywhere you meet some trace of former times and many people, using what has been preserved instead of what they intended to use, add their other material and build.”⁶³ Periods of intense building activity and city renewal, such as that which transformed Anatolia during the first few centuries AD, would have resulted in the frequent excavation of antiquities.⁶⁴ Admittedly, such interaction with the traces of the past did not necessarily result in historical interest, much less in interest that led to the interpretation of excavated remains as meaningful indices of antiquity. But in Temenothyrae, even the plowmen had opinions about how the unearthed bones and local pre-existing landmarks were to be historically connected. In other words, like the seasoned traveler Pausanias and the local guides, the plowmen too knew how to make history from things – even recently excavated ones.

As this passage of the *Description of Greece* makes clear, it was not only locals and foreigners who disagreed about the correct interpretation of the physical



2.4 Visual “restoration” of Nannas Bakivalis monument, Sardis (drawing by Jorge Hernán Zambrano after drawing by Theodore Leslie Shear.)

traces of the past in Roman Anatolia, but also the Anatolians themselves. All the interpreters by the “cracked mound” in Temenothyrae were specifically Lydian; and yet, all three parties had divergent opinions about the origins and meanings of the same material remains in their own landscape. Newly discovered traces prompted revision and reinterpretation, as did interaction among interpreters whose perspectives differed from each other. Information flowed in multiple directions: Pausanias corrected the plowmen, but it is likely that he had come to the site in the first place because those very plowmen (or perhaps the local guides) had taken him there; the guides may have gained knowledge about Geryon’s tomb in Cadiz (if they did not already know about it), and Pausanias learned about the many traces of Hyllus, son of Earth, on the border between Lydia and Phrygia. The process of history-making by antiquities was the result of dialogue and debate, even if the *Description of Greece* is associated exclusively with Pausanias.

COLLECTORS OF *LYDIAKA* IN SARDIS

The evidence I have discussed thus far has been culled almost entirely from literary sources. It is admittedly easier to discuss ancient archaeophiles when there are texts explicitly describing their activities than when there are none. But archaeological evidence provides alternative and complementary insight into the experiences of people who had specialized knowledge about the physical traces of the past in Roman Anatolia. An exceptionally sophisticated



2.5 Statues of lions and eagle from Nannas Bakivalis monument, set aside during excavation, Sardis. (Howard Crosby Butler Archive, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.)

incident involving the physical manipulation of archaic and classical period antiquities comes from the immediate vicinity of the city of Sardis, former capital of the Lydian Empire. I have treated this evidence elsewhere without attending specifically to the question of interpreters.⁶⁵

At some point between the mid-second and the late fourth century AD, a curious monument was set up in the environs of the sanctuary of Artemis (Figures 2.3–2.4).⁶⁶ That monument consists of three archaic zoomorphic statues and three bases; the statues represent a recumbent lion, a sitting lion, and an eagle (Figure 2.5). According to the original excavator, “the whole group was very puzzling.”⁶⁷ All of the statues range in date from the mid-sixth to the late fifth century BC.⁶⁸ The bases are more recent, but not later than the fourth century BC. Two of the bases were originally inscribed; one was defaced for unknown reasons, perhaps before re-erection, rendering the text illegible.⁶⁹ The other bears one of only two extant Lydian–Greek bilingual inscriptions (Figure 2.6). All of the various artifacts were collected and displayed as a group in one of the main thoroughfares connecting the city proper to the nearby temple of Artemis.

The assemblage is known as the Nannas Bakivalis monument after the original dedicant of the base whose inscription is still intact.⁷⁰ Its various



2.6 Statue base with bilingual Lydian-Greek inscription, Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

components are now dispersed and reside in celebrated American and Turkish museum collections.⁷¹ The labels in those museums underplay or outright ignore the complexity of these objects' biographies. Calling them simply "archaic" or "Lydian" characteristically privileges the moment of creation of these artifacts, while avoiding the challenge of explaining how and why a collection of archaic Lydian statues and bases was redeployed in Roman Sardis as a coherent monument.

It is difficult to be precise about the exact date of re-erection of the group, partly because the primary purpose of early excavation efforts was the recovery of Lydian remains, not the understanding of their reuse in the Roman period. It is certain, however, that some of these statues and bases were nearly a millennium old when redeployed. The temporal distance between the original moment of carving and that of re-erection raises similar questions to those I asked in the Introduction in relation to the early Bronze Age mace head (Figure 1.1) I found in a different temple at Sardis. Would the Nannas Bakivalis monument have looked stylistically old to the inhabitants of the Roman city? Would temple visitors have recognized formal peculiarities as evidence that the statues were traces of local antiquity, perhaps specifically of Sardis's own illustrious past as the capital of a bygone empire? Was the monument somehow analogous to – for instance – the statue of the Mother of the Gods on Mount Sipylus described by Pausanias



2.7 Plan of the sanctuary of Artemis, Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

(Figure 1.2; see also Figure 3.2), or, shifting to the present, to the colossal Hittite monolith from Fasillar now in the courtyard of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (see Figure 2.14 below)? That monolith is recognizable to many inhabitants of the Turkish capital today as both “old” and “local”, indeed as specifically Hittite.⁷²

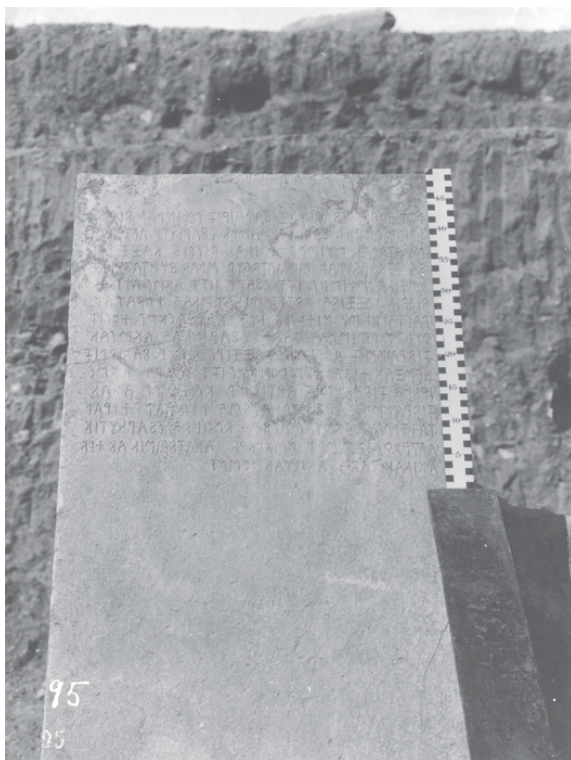
As stated above, the group was found near the temple of Artemis (Figure 2.7). Its findspot makes it very likely that both statues and bases had all once been religious offerings made many centuries before Roman rule was consolidated in Anatolia. The inscribed base was certainly part of a votive dedication to Artemis, as the text it bears makes clear. It is also possible – although perhaps less likely – that the re-erectors moved some of the objects to the sanctuary from elsewhere in the city. In support of the latter idea one can point to the fact that, apart from the statues and bases that are part of the Nannas Bakivalis

monument and the so-called “Lydian” altar west of the temple of Artemis, there is very little other specifically archaic material in the sanctuary. Regardless of where the statues and bases had come from, they were certainly not originally intended to be displayed as a group when they were first made. Cutting marks on the bases indicate that at least two of them (including the inscribed one) once supported bronze and specifically anthropomorphic statuary.

The statues of the Nannas Bakivalis monument represent an eagle and two lions. In Lydian Sardis the lion reigned supreme. The profusion of lions in the Lydian city prompted George Hanfmann, who first directed the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, to diagnose a case of “Lydian leontomania.”⁷³ Lions were famously celebrated on the earliest coins of the city as well as on gems and statuary. They also seem to have been prominent in Lydian mythology. In the fifth century BC, for example, Herodotus recorded the tale of King Meles and how he magically protected the acropolis of the city by driving a lion cub around it.⁷⁴ The story of Meles continued to be told in Roman Sardis, as can be surmised from a passing reference to it in a letter from the first-century AD Neo-Pythagorean philosopher Apollonius of Tyana to the Sardians concerning civic strife in the city.⁷⁵ Independently of the possible apotropaic value of lions in Roman Sardis, both lions and eagles had been associated with royalty in Anatolia long before the rise of the Lydian Empire and they continued to be symbols of kingship long after its demise. Arguably, the archaic statues and bases of the Nannas Bakivalis group may have served as material referents for those who, like Apollonius had done earlier, were ready to invoke the local Lydian past to frame moral and political arguments in Roman Sardis.

Even if formal peculiarities did not make the statues and bases stand out as “old” and “local,” the Lydian portion of the inscribed base most likely would have (Figure 2.6). Although the exact date of the re-erection of the base is elusive, nobody in Roman Sardis would have known how to write, or probably even read, the Lydian script when the base was reused. And yet, that text would not have been entirely opaque either, since it was bilingual and most Lydian letters have obvious Greek counterparts. In fact, the Lydian portion of the bilingual text could have even been sounded out. The names on the base were surely transparent. Furthermore, some people in Roman Anatolia shared their own proper names with the dedicant. Nanas (Νανάς) is attested in Sardis in the first century BC and the seemingly related Nannion (Νάννιον) is attested in first- or second-century AD Smyrna. Dionisykles (Διονισυκλῆς), on its part, is recorded more than a dozen times in Ionia after the second century BC.⁷⁶ Indeed, the re-erection of the monument may have conceivably been carried out to celebrate familial or even personal connections with the original makers of the monument.

Other artifacts bearing Lydian texts were also redeployed at about the same time in the immediate vicinity of the great altar to the west of the temple.



2.8 Stela with Lydian inscription from the vicinity of the “Lydian” altar, Sardis. (Howard Crosby Butler Archive, Department of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University.)

That altar had been originally built in the archaic period but was repeatedly refurbished thereafter. Among the most conspicuous antiquities around it was an assortment of stelae, some of which had extensive Lydian inscriptions. Some were oriented in groups structuring walkways and vistas around the temple. Others were placed so as to abut the altar, on its west side at either end of the central staircase that led to the altar platform, as well as on its north side, which even now is wholly flanked by stela bases. In total, there were at least forty-eight stelae of different dates, shapes, and sizes erected in rows around the western façade of the temple of Artemis.⁷⁷

Very few of the inscribed stones have been found – unsurprisingly, since they were prime candidates to be carted away to make lime. One of the excavated stelae re-erected by the altar, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, bears a long Lydian text (Figure 2.8).⁷⁸ In fact, it was this stela that first led its original excavator to conclude that the entire altar was Lydian. The Lydian characters themselves, rather than the text they recorded, were likely meaningful for those who re-erected the inscribed blocks in Roman Sardis. Like the lion and eagle statues, those letters – patently alphabetic, yet not fully understandable – would have been enough for interpreters to focus

on a specifically old and local memory horizon. The meaning of the text was almost certainly irrecoverable in detail to most if not all devotees of Artemis in the Roman period, but the curious Greek-like, and yet not-Greek characters may have served as powerful indices of Lydian antiquity.

One cannot help but wonder what people in Roman Sardis made of the Lydian inscriptions. Experts may have claimed to know what those texts said. Although the Lydian language had ceased to be spoken widely perhaps as early as the third century BC, at least one Lydian word, *kaveis* (an ancestral title meaning “priestess”), made it repeatedly on to Roman period inscriptions celebrating local women.⁷⁹ Even in Greek characters, that lone word most likely appeared odd to foreign visitors. It may have reminded those who could read it that most of the peninsula had once been ruled from Sardis by kings speaking an Anatolian language. If these claims seem extravagant, it is worth noting that there are later examples of local intellectuals interested in the Lydian language.⁸⁰ If neither stylistic peculiarities nor the Lydian alphabet made a noticeable enough impact, the fact that all of these archaic artifacts were grouped together probably would have.

So, who recovered and re-erected these artifacts and why did they do so? Any answer will have to remain at least partly speculative. Here is a possibility: the temple of Artemis at Sardis was one of the main religious centers of the entire region from at least the archaic period – when the statues were first carved – to the fourth century AD, by which date those statues would have been re-erected. During that millennium, enormous political and religious changes took place in the city, not the least of which was the advent of Christianity. By the late fourth century AD, Christians had been generally successful in imposing their monotheistic religious discourse on most cities of the Roman Empire. And yet, resistance remained: active resistance involved individuals and groups who refused to turn their backs on their ancestral gods, while passive resistance included, for example, urban and rural communities dispassionately attesting to the former preeminence of pagan divinities.

A notorious facet of the religious homogenization imposed by intolerant Christians was the transformation and occasional destruction of the material fabric of cities throughout the Roman Empire. Several times, the fourth-century AD sophist Eunapius, a native of Sardis, mentions the Christian destruction of pagan holy places; his account sheds light on its causes, mechanics, and effects. In a spirited and sarcastic passage, Eunapius mockingly notes that by shattering the Serapeum of Alexandria to pieces, the “warlike and noble” Christians had “won a victory without engaging a foe or waging a battle.”⁸¹ Eunapius was writing at a time when Christians in Sardis would have seldom encountered flesh-and-blood adversaries; even so, philistine bishops and their mobs sometimes raged against the despised physical traces of the pagan past. More than once, Eunapius laments the fate of pagan holy places and dreads the spread

of an “awful gloom” (εἰδὴς σκότος, 7.II.471) over cities that had been, even until fairly recently, the steadfast abodes of Hellenism. While there is no doubt that the “world of Eunapius’s *Lives* is one in which paganism is usually on the defensive,”⁸² the following passage sheds light on those rare occasions on which pagans at Sardis adopted an offensive stance. Even in the face of the anti-pagan legislation enacted by the emperor Theodosius I, some aristocrats took it upon themselves to recover and re-erect pagan sanctuaries in or near the city:

When the business of the Christians was triumphing and taking hold of everything, after a long time, someone from Rome visited, an archon of Asia named Justus, already old in age and noble in character; he had not abandoned the old and ancestral custom, but zealously followed that blessed and happy way. He was always at the shrines and was fond of all manner of divination, thinking greatly of the fact that he cared for these things and set them aright. After coming to Asia from Constantinople and realizing that the leader of the people (a man called Hilarius) shared his frenzy, he raised altars on the spot in Sardis – for there were none there – and in the ruins of the shrines, if a ruin was found, he worked to re-erect it.⁸³

The *archon* Justus and the local leader Hilarius were moved by religious piety, but merely dusting off Lydian shrines was no longer an option because, at least according to Eunapius, there were no shrines left in the city to be dusted. Instead, the “ruins of shrines” and, presumably, other material remains, had to be sought out, selected, and reassembled to connect the late fourth-century AD present to a physically distinct local past when paganism was still dominant and uncontested.

Not every pagan was as bold as Justus and Hilarius were; many feared political repercussions, and even some of those who were willing to restore monuments exerted their efforts inconspicuously. Chrysanthius, for example, who had been Eunapius’s own teacher,⁸⁴ carried out restorations in such a way as to not incite ill will:

Chrysanthius took up the chief priesthood of all the people [of Lydia], and since he clearly knew well what was to come, he was not heavy on his authority, nor did he raise the temples, just as all the rest do in their hot and fervid ways, nor did he annoy any of the Christians excessively, but such was the simplicity of his character that throughout Lydia the re-erection of the shrines almost escaped notice.⁸⁵

Clive Foss asserted that the work of these pagans at Sardis “proved abortive,” “met with a cold reception,” and “left no trace.”⁸⁶ While the efforts of Justus and Hilarius were fruitless in the sense that paganism was ultimately eradicated, the Nannas Bakivalis monument may be proof that the manipulations of pagan and, specifically, Lydian material remains did, in fact, leave traces in Sardis.

Surely there would have been a range of reactions, rather than a homogeneous response, to such endeavors; some of the pagans (and cryptopagans) who lived in Sardis until the sixth century AD would probably have been pleased with the temporary restoration of the shrines.⁸⁷

We cannot be certain about the exact agendas of those who collected and restored *Lydiaka* in Roman Sardis. And yet, the monuments by the temple provide incontrovertible archaeological evidence for the existence of archaeophiles in the city, people who, at a time of religious upheaval, valued the archaic Lydian lions and eagle, as well as the Lydian inscriptions. Those artifacts were material indices of the remote history of the city and the sanctuary. Perhaps they were gathered the way they were because they needed safeguarding, not only from people intent on destroying them to make lime but also from those with different cultural and religious agendas.⁸⁸ Even as the former capital of the Lydian Empire was increasingly adorned with Christian trappings, someone recovered these specific objects and set them up as a coherent group. The restorers could have selected other votives, including Hellenistic or Roman sculptures and bases, but they did not; instead, they chose to recover and display statues and bases that embodied “Lydianness” in an increasingly Christian city.

PRIESTS OF THE STORM GOD IN CILICIA

The reactivation of pre-classical traces of the past was happening long before the advent of Christianity and in places far less distinguished – from a literary perspective, that is – than Sardis. In fact, as occurred in the case of the statue of the Mother of the Gods on Mount Sipylus, most of the Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut monuments of Anatolia regularly attracted attention and incited activity even though they are not often mentioned by classical authors. In an article entitled “Traces of Tarhuntas,” Valeria Sergueenkova and I examined Greek, Roman, and Byzantine interactions with such monuments.⁸⁹ In that article we concentrated almost exclusively on material remains that modern archaeologists and historians term “Hittite” and “Neo-Hittite” or “Luwian.” For someone studying pre-modern engagements with rock-cut monuments such labels are anachronistic; it was obviously not because they were specifically “Hittite” that those reliefs and inscriptions attracted the attention of later interpreters. The groupings of archaeological evidence that such ethnonyms allow modern scholars (including Sergueenkova and me) to make are recent constructs imposed on evidence that would have been ordered according to different categories by archaeophiles in the past. Here I want to consider two Iron Age “Neo-Assyrian” reliefs in Anatolia that might have also been included under the title “Traces of Tarhuntas,” since at least one of them was surely associated by ancient interpreters with the Anatolian Storm God.

In 1973, Aytuğ Taşyürek visited Uzunoğlan Tepe, a multi-period archaeological site located in Cilicia, about 30 kilometers north of the city of Anazarbus on the Anti-Taurus Mountains. Although Taşyürek reported that there was striking evidence of Roman period engagement with Iron Age remains at the site, Uzunoğlan Tepe has not attracted the attention of many classicists, even though it has been occasionally discussed by Assyriologists.⁹⁰ Between 2004 and 2006, however, Uzunoğlan Tepe was the object of a careful archaeological survey led by Mustafa Sayar. His research has illuminated the long-term human history of the site.⁹¹

Uzunoğlan Tepe lies near an important mountain pass. Its position probably accounts for the fact that there are continuous levels of occupation from at least the Iron Age to the Byzantine period, which is unusual for the region of Cilicia. The Turkish toponym Uzunoğlan means “tall youth” and surely refers to an uninscribed Iron Age rock-cut relief of a standing bearded male figure depicted before a series of astral symbols. That figure holds a mace in his left hand and stretches the finger of his right hand in a canonical Assyrian gesture of prayer (Figure 2.9). The relief probably commemorates a military campaign in Cilicia undertaken in 839 BC by the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (r. 859–824 BC).⁹² Shalmaneser also commissioned other rock-cut monuments in what is now Turkey, including, famously, a relief at the source of the Tigris River.⁹³

In addition to the carving of Shalmaneser III, the most conspicuous remains at Uzunoğlan Tepe are the ruins of a Roman temple that was built almost at the top of the hill, immediately next to the carving of the king (Figure 2.10). That building was originally surrounded by monumental porticoes, from which some disarticulated columns and capitals have been found reused in later nearby structures. Based on architectural decoration, the temple can be dated to the second century AD. Taşyürek also mentioned a Roman necropolis on the slopes of the hill.⁹⁴ Although there are no certain pre-Roman architectural remains, Hellenistic ceramics were indeed found at the site. In the Byzantine period, the hilltop was fortified, and a watch tower was built with a commanding view of the Çukurova plain (as the valley of Anazarbus is known in Turkish).

Inscriptions illuminate the significance of the site during the Roman period as well as the identity of some of the religious officials associated with the sanctuary. An inscribed altar found on the hill was dedicated in 149 AD to Zeus Ceuranius, god of lightning, a local manifestation of the Anatolian Storm God in the Roman period;⁹⁵ the local character of the altar is further attested by the fact that the date was recorded according to the era of Anazarbus. A different inscribed block honoring a local king named Tarcondimotus II Philopator, son of the priest Tarcondimotus Diophanes, was also found there reused in a Byzantine structure; Sayar dated this inscribed block to 20 BC–17 AD.⁹⁶ Since



2.9 Relief of Shalmaneser III, Uzunoglan Tepe (photo by Mustafa Sayar.)



2.10 Second-century AD Roman temple, Uzunoğlu Tepe (reconstruction by Ralph Rosenbauer). (Courtesy of Mustafa Sayar.)

the theophoric name of the king and the priest “Tarcondimotus” is itself directly related to that of the Hittite-Luwian Storm God Tarhun(t)as,⁹⁷ the altar arguably extends the reign of the Storm God on the mountain to at least Augustan times. The second name of the priest, “Diophanes,” literally means “Zeus-manifesting,” further suggesting that the Storm God was the divinity who ruled on the hill.

The complex of evidence at Uzunoğlu Tepe is fascinating: a Roman temple to a local manifestation of the Anatolian Storm God, tended by hereditary priests whose names are etymologically related to the Hittite and Luwian names of the Storm God, built next to an ancient relief of a Neo-Assyrian king depicted “praying” in front of astral signs. The conspicuous absence of Hellenistic structures at the site may signal a rupture in the cultural importance of the hill. It is arguable that, after a lull of several centuries, expert archaeophiles from Roman Anazarbus re-harnessed the ancient *numen* and framed the relief (originally not of a god, but of a king) as proof of the spot’s religious significance. The architectural complex with porticoes and a monumental temple speaks of the prestige and wealth of the temple’s ancient benefactors. It is possible that the Tarcondimoti themselves – archaeophiles whose religious expertise was genetically transmitted – were the main promoters of this revival that involved using the ancient relief to cement their own ancestral divine authority. Without knowledge of the inscriptions, Taşyürek had already noted



2.11 Neo-Assyrian relief at Karabur. (Photo by Elif Denel; from Harmanşah 2015 fig. 6.6 Courtesy of Ömür Harmanşah.)

that “[i]t would seem that the Roman precinct might owe its existence to some sanctity attached to the Assyrian figure which, when its origins were forgotten, may have been taken for the image of a god.”⁹⁸

Uzunoğlu Tepe is not the only site where there is evidence of Roman period engagement with Neo-Assyrian reliefs. In 1974, Taşyürek also came across four uninscribed Neo-Assyrian reliefs at Karabur, some 25 kilometers southeast of Antakya (ancient Antioch). The reliefs were carved on a striking geological landscape characterized by a series of conspicuous vertical rock outcrops (Figure 2.11).⁹⁹ One of the reliefs depicts a worshipper and an anthropomorphic deity again flanking a series of astral and divine; the other three depict single deities. There is no obvious ordering among the figures. Near the reliefs is a Roman period necropolis with a few salient monuments including a rock-cut tomb and a built marble pool. Taşyürek’s reflections concerning the layering of interventions at Karabur may be quoted at length, since already in 1975, he called attention to the potential of the site for diachronic investigation:

The importance of this monument lies not only with the Assyrian reliefs but also in a tradition of sanctity which even today attaches to the spot.

As at Ferhatlı [i.e., Uzunoğlan Tepe, discussed above], the outer parts of the locality were used as a necropolis in Roman times. A rock-cut burial chamber of a characteristic Cilician type on the southern edge of the area suggested the possibility of the presence of further tombs, and in fact some questioning soon served to locate many other Roman graves. Another point of interest is a wall, probably Roman, found c. 100 m. north of the area of the reliefs at a spot surrounded by fir trees. The villagers of Çatbaşı, who speak Arabic as their mother-tongue and belong to the Alawite sect, regard this as a place of pilgrimage and name it Şeyh ul Kal'a ("Sheikh of the Fortress"). Around the Roman wall, which they regard as a tomb, and where on certain religious days they burn various kinds of incense, there are stones in the shape of orthostats, and about 7 m. to the north, there is an undamaged marble pool, probably also of the Roman period.¹⁰⁰

The development of a necropolis in the vicinity of the reliefs is not exceptional.¹⁰¹ But why did the inhabitants of ancient Karabur bury their dead in proximity to the "Neo-Assyrian" reliefs? How would they have understood the outcroppings and rock-cut images? Were there local archaeophiles among them? These are not easy questions to answer. The reliefs' iconography was likely familiar to observers in Roman Cilicia and northern Syria. The divinity facing the worshipper in the most elaborate of the carvings is clutching an object in his left hand that is now very weathered. Taşyürek interpreted that object as a lotus flower, but it may have been – or may have been understood as – a thunderbolt, much like the ones the Anatolian Storm God often held in both Bronze Age and Roman period carvings from the greater region.

A remarkable stela from Dülük Baba Tepesi (Dolichene in Commagene) shows the Storm God and his consort standing in a manner that is unmistakably reminiscent of Iron Age renderings – note, for example, the god's belt and kilt – over a register that depicts two people with elaborate attire and headgear performing a sacrifice at what looks like a Hellenistic/Roman altar (Figure 2.12). As Michael Blömer has argued, the region of Dolichene may be exceptional in that some divine iconography remained largely unchanged from the Iron Age through the Roman period. Blömer explains the continuity as the result of weak integration into transregional contexts.¹⁰² Perhaps at Karabur too what led local people to bury their dead by a Neo-Assyrian relief was a continuation (rather than a reinvention) of traditions that imagined the figure clutching the "thunderbolt" on the rock as a representation of "Tarhuntas" or whatever locals called their thunder god. If so, the Roman period activities by the reliefs at Uzunoğlan Tepe and Karabur reflect two different, if related, social situations: on the one hand, an aristocratic family claiming as their own an ancient relief in order to ratify their religious authority, and on the other, a more modest group of people who found a common sense of identity around a similar monument.



2.12 Stela of Jupiter Dolichenus, Dülük Baba Tepesi. (Courtesy of Engelbert Winter, director of the excavations at Doliche.)

It is worth noting that despite Taşyürek's brief foray into multi-period analyses, and despite the fact that almost all Bronze and Iron Age monuments in Anatolia are part of similarly layered landscapes, few scholars have taken up the challenge of studying them diachronically.¹⁰³ The most ambitious approach to date is that of Ömür Harmanşah, who has advocated for investigations extending from before the monuments were carved – indeed, starting from deep geological time – to the present day.¹⁰⁴ The interpretive challenges of the sort of analysis advocated by Harmanşah are immense. One obvious and important benefit, however, is that any attempt to understand the long-term history of a rock-cut monument quickly shows that modern cultural categories, the taxonomies that underlie them, and the seemingly obvious groupings of material remains that those taxonomies enable are the products of transient historical mentalities.

Taşyürek's passing mention of the Alawite rituals performed by locals next to the Karabur relief attests to the lasting significance of ancient rock-cut monuments in recent times and also to ways of attending to them that are not those of modern archaeologists. Not only that, it raises the tantalizing possibility that ethnographic investigation may actually shed light on pre-modern

engagements with rock-cut monuments. It is not necessary to claim that the Alawites of 1970s Karabur were pre-modern or somehow like pre-modern people to recognize that they engaged as archaeophiles with the monument and approached it with something other than a modern scientific imagination. If only to undermine the apparent stability and universality of archaeological discourses, it is useful for scholars of the ancient world to be aware that the people who continue to live around these monuments have their own ideas, not only about the origins and meaning of those monuments, but also about how to interact with and make sense of them. Curiously, the name of the site among local Alawites, Şeyh ul Kal'a (Sheikh of the Fortress), seems to signal a shift back to the identification of the figure as a king, rather than a god.

Modern scholars have often failed to study classical interest in the pre-classical physical traces of the past in Anatolia because of various bureaucratic and academic strictures. Partly as a result of permit regulations in Turkey and disciplinary specializations in Europe and America, many archaeological landscapes in the country have been studied by archaeologists with single-period concerns, making it very difficult to detect the type of ancient interest that is the focus of this study. The last point is confirmed by the fact that until recently almost no diachronic attention had been paid to most of the Bronze and Iron Age landscape monuments of Anatolia, even though it is obviously the case that many – indeed perhaps most of them – were local cultural landmarks long after the collapse of the Hittite Empire.

ATHLETES BY A HITTITE GIANT IN PISIDIA

The evidence at Uzunoğlan Tepe and Karabur serves as a material counterpart to Pausanias's description of the encounter by the "throne" at Temenothyrae. It gives us a glimpse into how small groups of people interacted with pre-classical *realia* in Roman Anatolia. Occasionally such interaction involved larger communities and led to inclusive communal engagements with antiquities. An archaeological site in a remote region in central Turkey provides further insight into such manifestations of archaeophilia.

Some 16 kilometers east of Lake Beyşehir in what used to be Roman Pisidia is the largest extant statue from the Hittite Empire, a gargantuan monolith that lies abandoned in a village now called Fasıllar (Figure 2.13).¹⁰⁵ The statue is 8.3 meters tall, weighs more than twenty tons, and was carved probably in the thirteenth century BC. It represents the Hittite Storm God standing upon a mountain god flanked by lions. A full-size replica of this artifact now stands in the front courtyard of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara (Figure 2.14). The statue in Fasıllar was likely destined for one of the imposing landscape monuments commissioned by Hittite kings and their contemporaries throughout Anatolia. Those monuments were carved or erected by springs



2.13 Colossal Hittite monolithic statue, Fasillar. (Photo by the author.)

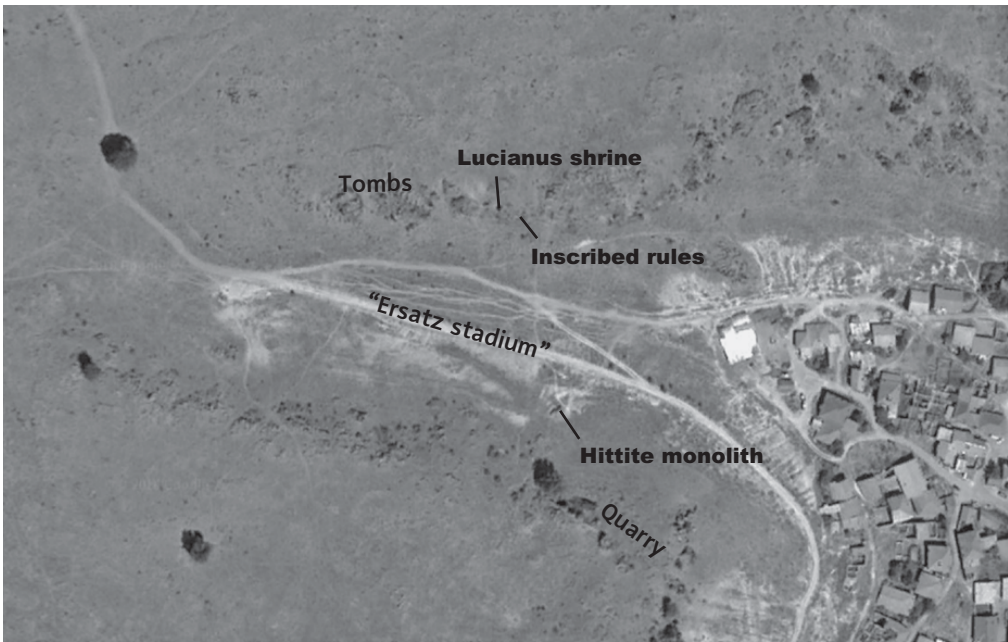
and lakes or on mountain passes and cliff-faces to make claims about political and religious authority over the landscape.¹⁰⁶ The possibility – proposed initially in the 1960s – that the Fasillar statue was specifically intended to be part of the great pool complex at Eflatun Pınar (27 kilometers northwest of Fasillar, near the shores of Lake Beyşehir) now seems unlikely.¹⁰⁷ Whatever its original destination, the monolith was abandoned soon after it was carved next to its quarry.

In Roman antiquity, a small settlement grew in the vicinity of the Hittite giant. At that time, the monolith was part of the local landscape, like the hills and the rocks and the trees, except that it was evidently figurative. Its anthropomorphic and zoomorphic carvings probably incited questions about their origins and meaning among the inhabitants of Fasillar and surrounding regions. How did people in Roman Pisidia understand the monument? They probably recognized it as anthropogenic and very ancient, but whose past did they think it was indexing? And why did they think it was there in the first place? There are no certain answers to these questions, and yet, by exploring what people in Roman Fasillar did around the statue we may offer some speculative suggestions.



2.14 Replica of Fasillar statue in the courtyard of the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. (Photo by Tayfun Bilgin.)

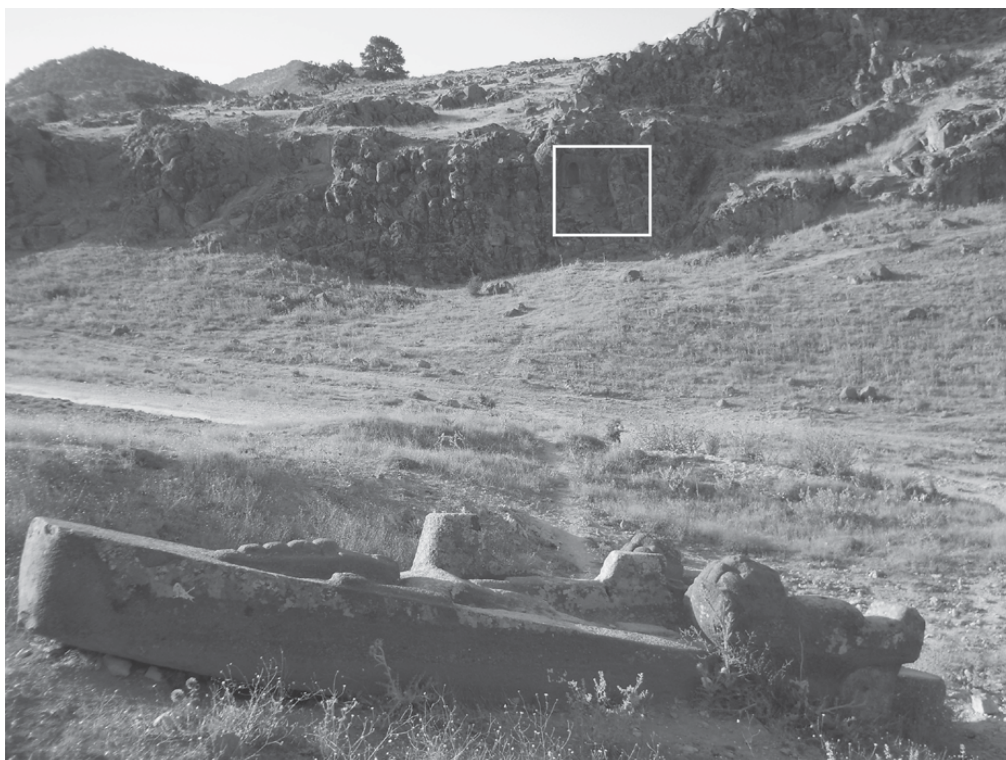
Traces of the Roman settlement in the immediate vicinity of the monolith include a well, dry-stone walls (probably once belonging to domestic structures), several inscriptions, dozens of cist graves, and a handful of more elaborate rock-cut monuments (Figure 2.15).¹⁰⁸ Throughout the Roman period, the giant and its surrounding landscape attracted activity as later inhabitants buried their dead and built smaller funerary monuments near the monolith. The most conspicuous and ornate of the Roman period interventions was carved directly opposite the statue in the second century AD. It is a rock-cut shrine to a local notable identified by an inscription as “*Lucianus heros progamios*,” or “Lucianus, who died before marriage”¹⁰⁹ (Figure 2.16). A single arch supported by Corinthian columns frames a niche that once contained a statue of the young man; to the right of the arch is a half life-size relief of a horse with elaborate trappings. The shrine faces the Hittite statue lying about 50 meters away. In the general area there are many other cliffs where the hero’s shrine could have been carved, yet the shrine was constructed right in front of the monolith. It would be difficult to argue that the Roman structure was not intended to be in direct visual and spatial dialogue with the Hittite statue. But how exactly were the shrine and the statue related?



2.15 Plan of Fasillar. (Google Earth © CNES/Airbus.)

A Roman period inscription, roughly or possibly exactly contemporary with the shrine, sheds some light on this question.¹¹⁰ The text is carved on the living rock, a few meters below and slightly to the right of Lucianus's monument; it stipulates fair-play rules for athletic games that included horse-racing and *pankration* (a bloody combat sport with few restrictions akin to mixed martial arts). The competition in Roman Fasillar was open to both citizens and slaves. Those athletic competitions were held in the narrow valley between the monolith and the shrine. The placement of Lucianus's shrine and the other Roman tombs is not a coincidence. As Heinrich Swoboda noted, the site is "a natural ersatz stadium."¹¹¹ A combination of archaeological and epigraphic evidence sheds some light on what motivated local communities to carve a shrine to a distinguished ancestor in front of an abandoned Bronze Age monument, to organize athletic games between the shrine and the monolith, and to build an entire necropolis on the surrounding cliffs.

The inscribed athletic regulations are remarkable for their insistence on communal values such as fair play and cooperation. They stipulate an unusually limited form of *pankration* (e.g., wrestling on the ground is forbidden); slaves are allowed to compete in the games and to share a fraction of the prize money with fellow competitors; and *pankratiasts* and horse-owners are not allowed to win more than once a day.¹¹² These are emphatically inclusive rules that must have been aimed at promoting social cohesion, perhaps even inter-community fellowship and goodwill – a marked difference from



2.16 Top image: box shows location of shrine of Lucianus. Bottom image: (left-hand box) marks shrine and (right-hand box) marks inscription stipulating rules for athletic competitions. (Photos by the author.)

many other (and better documented) cases of local athletic festivals in the Roman East, where the benefaction and participation of elite individuals is never out of focus.¹¹³

How exactly Lucianus's family and the participants in the games conceived their respective relationships to the statue is impossible to determine.¹¹⁴ It is likely that the carving of Lucianus's monument in the prime spot vis-à-vis the statue (i.e., facing it from the shortest possible distance across the valley) was somehow related to the communal games enacted regularly in the interstitial space. The cliff overlooking the statue was a culturally prominent spot because the giant brought people together for the games. Intense embodied interaction confirmed the bonding power of the monolith. The area was thus consolidated as a center of civic life, not just for all of the inhabitants (citizens and slaves alike) of Roman Fasıllar, but perhaps also for those of the wider region.¹¹⁵ Sergueenkova and I suggested that it is possible that the connections originally proposed by James Mellaart between the Fasıllar statue and the Eflatun Pınar complex might also have been made in Roman antiquity. In other words, that the inhabitants of the region already in the Roman period might have been sensitive to the visual and material similarities between various monuments that modern archaeologists now date to the Bronze Age. However this may be, those who participated in the Fasıllar games could well have included people who lived near Eflatun Pınar or in Beyşehir (now identified as ancient Mısthia).¹¹⁶ If people from the wider region gathered in Roman Fasıllar, those people also would have been brought together by shared ideas about material remains in their landscape – ideas that were reaffirmed by the performance of community-building athletic games by the side of the giant.

Upon first inspection, it would seem that the inhabitants of Fasıllar practiced a completely different form of archaeophilia than that of Mucianus or Pausanias. Traveling experts strengthened their ties to a community (of traveling experts) by carefully studying traces of the past, placing those traces on a chronological sequence, comparing them with other traces of the past that they had seen elsewhere, and writing about them. The people of Roman Fasıllar, by contrast, may not have ever written about their giant or been much concerned with its dating or how it related to distant monuments. And yet, they too strengthened their ties to other members of their community through direct embodied engagement with the traces of the past in their local landscape. They ratified their bonds to each other as well as to their deceased ancestors by exerting themselves in front of the giant. If nothing else, both the people of Fasıllar and the traveling experts studied earlier in this chapter constructed their own communities by interacting with ancient material remains.

IMPERIAL ARCHAEOPHILIA IN THE TROAD

I conclude this chapter where I began it: in the Troad. Historical Roman rulers – not just their poetic avatars – visited Troy with the express intent of directly interacting with the physical traces of the Homeric past. Literary and archaeological evidence of their visits has been carefully gathered and analyzed.¹¹⁷ Some of this evidence can be used to illuminate two recurring themes: the cultural importance of embodied archaeophilia in the Roman world and the multi-directional flow of information among interpreters of diverse social backgrounds.

When the emperor Caracalla visited Troy in 214 AD, he decided not simply to survey the local landscape, but also, infamously, to re-enact public performances about which he had learned in literary sources. At Troy, Caracalla celebrated rites for Achilles at an ancient tumulus that was identified in Roman antiquity as being the tomb of the Homeric hero. The emperor also staged athletic competitions in honor of Achilles. The games over which Caracalla presided were a spectacular and emotional display of interest in the Homeric past of Troy. In addition to these ceremonies, Caracalla actually built a “Homeric” tomb: an enormous tumulus for his own dead freedman, Festus.¹¹⁸ What matters most for the purposes of this chapter is that his actions were, in fact, the re-performance of an earlier re-performance. Caracalla conducted rituals that, according to the twenty-third book of the *Iliad*, Achilles had held for his beloved Patroclus. In doing so, however, the emperor had in mind not just the *Iliad*, but also Alexander the Great’s re-enactment of Achilles’s funeral games, a re-enactment that the Macedonian had staged in Persian Ecbatana at the death of his own beloved Hephaestion.¹¹⁹ As Froma Zeitlin neatly put it: Caracalla “imitated Alexander imitating Achilles.”¹²⁰

Caracalla was a show-off and a poser. The extent to which he wished to embody Alexander is well attested in ancient literature. We know from historical sources that in Troy, Caracalla wore Macedonian dress, had his troops arranged in the Macedonian phalanx formation, and even called his own generals by Macedonian names.¹²¹ The account of the second/third-century AD historian Herodian is worth quoting at length for the unalloyed scorn that one of Caracalla’s contemporaries felt for the emperor’s histrionic engagements with the ruins of Troy:

[In Troy] he [i.e., Caracalla] visited all the ruins of the city; he came up to the tomb of Achilles and adorned it with garlands and flowers, extravagantly imitating Achilles. Looking for a “Patroclus,” he made one. For his most beloved freedman, whose name was Festus, and who was in charge of the imperial record, died in Troy when the emperor was present. Some say, he was poisoned precisely so that he could be buried as Patroclus had been, while other say that he was killed by disease. He [i.e.,



2.17 Tumulus of Festus, Troy, Gabriel-Auguste-Florent Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*, 1809, vol. II, plate XXIX. (*Travelogues: Travellers' Views*, <http://eng.travelogues.gr/item.php?view=44574>.)

Caracalla] ordered the corpse [of Festus] to be adorned, and for a pyre to be made with lots of wood. And placing him [i.e., the body of Festus] in the middle, he sacrificed beasts of all sorts, he lit the pyre and made libations with a *phiale*, and he prayed to the winds. Since he was almost completely bald, he looked laughable when he tried to place a lock of hair on the pyre. But cut he did what hair he had.¹²²

The earthen mound Caracalla erected for Festus is 70 meters in diameter and 17 meters high. That Roman tumulus became a tourist attraction in the nineteenth century AD much as the Bronze and Iron Age tumuli had been in Caracalla's own day (Figure 2.17). The mound stands today as evidence that imperial means enabled extravagant displays of archaeophilia. But Caracalla's urge to experience the past first-hand – to re-live “Homeric” events and to reconstruct “Homeric” ruins – was part of a more generalized impulse that I have explored at length above. In fact, the one-upmanship of Roman archaeophiles at Troy takes an even more bizarre turn, when, some years later, an impostor imitating Caracalla pretended to be Alexander and staged his own re-performances at the site. One can only wonder what the inhabitants of the Troad thought about an impostor posing as an emperor posing as Alexander posing as Achilles.

Some insight into the complex interactions between performing Roman emperors and local Anatolian audiences can be gained from a combination of earlier literary and archaeological evidence concerning the visit of the emperor Hadrian to the Troad in 124 AD. Hadrian too was impelled to visit

Troy by his passion for Homer.¹²³ He even wrote an epigram in which he directly addresses the ghost of Hector, telling the hero that the famed city of Ilium actually lives on with its warlike inhabitants, that Achilles's Myrmidons have been destroyed, and that all of Thessaly has been subjected by the descendants of Aeneas (i.e., the Romans).¹²⁴ It is possible to imagine the emperor publicly reciting the poem at one of the existing tumuli in the Troad: "Hector, blood of Ares, if somehow you are able to hear under the earth..." In his treatise *On Heroes*, the second/third-century AD sophist Philostratus has a vine-grower recall an incident told to him by his own grandfather involving Hadrian's visit:

Hear me out friend: my grandfather knew many things of the sort that you would not believe. He said that at one time the monument of Ajax was destroyed by the sea [near Rhoeteum], next to which it had been built, and in it appeared bones that corresponded to a man of eleven cubits. And he said that the emperor Hadrian came to Troy to lay them out for burial and that he built the tomb of Ajax, which stands to this day, and that he hugged the bones and kissed them.¹²⁵

In 124 AD, the emperor collected and moved giant bones,¹²⁶ and also built a proper "Homeric" tumulus for them at Troy. This was one of several ancient tombs restored or redecorated by Hadrian.¹²⁷ The earthen mound that Hadrian built was not exactly like the older anthropogenic mounds of the region. The Bronze and Iron Age tumuli of the Troad were usually made impenetrable after construction. Hadrian's, by contrast, included an outer vaulted ambulatory passage; his architect deliberately designed a corridor, 3.5 meters in width, to facilitate direct interaction with the skeletal remains of the ancient hero.¹²⁸ Hadrian wanted to engage physically with those remains in an emotionally charged reburial ceremony.

Why does Philostratus count this incident among things that "you would not believe"? Is it simply because of the size of the skeleton, or is it rather because of the behavior of the emperor, who lovingly handled an assortment of old bones that had been exposed by the sea? Was this display of sentimental archaeophilia not beneath Hadrian's station? Though Philostratus is not explicit about the matter, it is interesting to speculate about how local inhabitants were involved in all this. Presumably it was they who had found those giant bones and who took care of them after Hadrian had left the Troad. Pausanias, in fact, interacted with a man from Mysia who had seen some of those bones inside the tomb.¹²⁹ The bones of Ajax attracted the attention of foreign visitors much as the letter of Sarpedon and the "throne" of Geryon/Hyllus had attracted visitors in Lycia and Lydia. In fact, it is not inconceivable that the announcement of Hadrian's visit may have led people in the Troad to recover those bones in the first place and to bring them to the emperor's

attention. Hadrian's well-known interests may have incited the people of Asia to produce their own antiquities specifically for him.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeophiles abounded in Roman Anatolia. Some of them (e.g., Mucianus, Pausanias, and the emperor Hadrian) were eventually recognized by early modern European antiquarians as their own intellectual predecessors. Others, including many of those very people's interlocutors (e.g., temple wardens, local guides, industrious ploughmen, giant-bone collectors, etc.), are harder to pin down precisely – especially so in the absence of text. We can say relatively little, for instance, about the men and women who buried their dead by the Neo-Assyrian relief in Karabur. Whoever they may have been, literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence demonstrates that people from across the social spectrum – not just aristocrats and literati – were driven by the urge to explore and explain the human past by making sense of antiquities.

Archaeophilia in Roman Anatolia was not solely or even primarily the pursuit of lone individuals. Making history from things always involved dialogue and debate among a remarkably diverse set of interpreters, often acting simultaneously. Disciplinary historians have largely concentrated on named individuals when writing the history of archaeology and antiquarianism; however, as the examples examined above demonstrate, archaeophilia was often an intensely social activity. In Roman Fasıllar, for example, a whole community of people confirmed their social bonds to each other and perhaps also to a common past by exercising next to a Bronze Age monolith. If a fondness for hagiography has obscured social processes in the hard sciences, as historians of science have argued,¹³⁰ the insistence on the contributions of singular intellectual heroes has almost completely severed communal archaeophilia from the history of archaeology and antiquarianism.

Archaeophilia was not a nostalgic exercise. It had social, political, religious, and sometimes even fiscal implications in the present – tax exemptions are clearly one of the reasons Artemidorus, the archivist from Nysa, produced his “holy documents” to show to a visiting Roman pro-consul. It is easy to imagine priests charging visitors for the privilege of interacting with local antiquities, or shepherds and hunters promising Roman officials to show them ruins in the remote countryside. Such negotiations enabled people like Lucan's fictional peasant to transgress and arguably even to challenge social hierarchies. It was locals, after all, who knew where to find the traces of the past in the landscape; those people often controlled access to the material remains visitors wanted to interact with. Although Mucianus was a powerful Roman statesman and general in his time, he had to engage in negotiation with local religious

officials in order to inspect the letter of Sarpedon or to witness the conservation of the *xoanon* of Artemis in Ephesus.

Expert archaeophiles were intensely competitive: they wanted to prove that their own understanding of the physical traces of the past was more authoritative than that of their interlocutors. Those who traveled widely seem to have been engaged in endless contests of one-upmanship. They often claimed, for instance, to have seen more ancient artifacts or more famous ones or more arcane ones than their peers and informants – Pliny’s comments on Mucianus are evidence of the agonistic dimension of elite archaeophilia. At the same time, experts were keen to invoke distant comparanda that they alone had seen and to call out both local guides and their own literary sources on what they perceived as their rival’s mistakes. Experts were often distrustful; they were on the lookout for fakes and forgeries. Pliny knew, for instance, that the letter Mucianus had seen in Lycia was a hoax because it could not have been written “on paper.”

Almost all interpreters prized direct personal interaction with material remains. Autopsy, tactile contact, and other forms of embodied experience of the physical traces of the past were highly valued. So intense was the impulse to engage in direct, unmediated fashion with famous antiquities that wealthy connoisseurs traveled widely to do so. In the process, they ended up destroying some of the antiquities they had wanted to see, as was occurring with the breastplate of Amasis in Lindos when Mucianus saw it. The urge to physically experience the past drove a few experts to think that they could make its traces come alive, either for themselves or for others. The inhabitants of Roman Ilium saw Roman emperors engage in acts of necromancy: Hadrian kissed the bones of Ajax – remains that a paleontologist would probably describe today as belonging to a prehistoric creature, in his effort to pay his respect to Hector.

As Lucan memorably put it, no stone in Troy was without name. In the [next chapter](#) we turn to those stones and to other traces of the past in Roman Anatolia. Much like the ancient interpreters, the traces of the past in which they were interested are both more varied and less familiar than has often been acknowledged by modern historians and archaeologists.

THREE

TRACES

What material archaeologists recover depends not only on what is visible, accessible, and technologically tractable but also on what archaeologists find interesting, puzzling, and relevant to current concerns, academic and popular. The retrieval and constitution of archaeologically usable facts of the record is very largely a function of what questions we know to ask and what material remains we know (how) to look for in attempting to answer them.¹

Alyson Wylie made these observations in her contribution to a volume of essays devoted to the study of culturally induced ignorance, of what it is people don't know and why it is they don't know it. Her words are relevant to this investigation because, in many ways, our own incipient understanding of what I have termed *archaeophilia* in Roman Anatolia is the consequence of not knowing what to ask and how to ask it. More specifically, it is the direct result of assuming that the traces of the past in which ancient *archaeophiles* were interested should generally be recognizable to modern archaeologists as archaeological evidence.

Many scholars studying interactions with the physical traces of the past in the past have taken for granted – often implicitly – that such traces are universal and self-evident. This is not surprising; it is demonstrable that even in very different cultural environments there are some commonalities in what people have understood as material remains of former times. For instance, in pre-Columbian and Colonial Mesoamerica, “fossilized bones, ancient statues, and ruined buildings ... repeatedly provided tangible evidence for beliefs about a

previous age and its vanished inhabitants.”² Those same kinds of artifacts were also used in the classical Mediterranean for the same purpose. In the second century AD, Pausanias and his contemporaries supported many of their own claims about bygone times by pointing to bones, statues, and ruins.³ Indeed, most of the incidents of archaeophilia examined throughout this book involve precisely such artifacts.

If one reads through the chapters dealing with archaeological and antiquarian practices before the Renaissance in standard histories of archaeology, such as Bruce Trigger’s *History of Archaeological Thought* or Alain Schnapp’s *Discovery of the Past*, one comes across references to projectile points, stone celts, metal ornaments, fossilized bones, and sherds of decorated ceramics – in other words, things that even today could be housed in a museum or at least in an excavation storeroom.⁴ The apparent uniformity in the classes of things that have counted as physical traces of the past worldwide may seem unproblematic – all the objects just listed, after all, seem to be obviously hard, long-lasting, and relatively conspicuous.⁵ And yet, if one takes into account the vast cultural differences between, say, the Aztecs of Moctezuma and Pausanias, not to mention those that existed among the protagonists of the early archaeological or antiquarian endeavors discussed by Trigger and Schnapp (i.e., Iroquois Indians, Neo-Assyrian rulers, medieval northern European peasants, Greek and Roman historians, Maya queens...), the lack of outliers is bizarre. If one then considers also the chronological and geographical gaps separating those various people from European and American archaeologists and historians, this apparent homogeneity raises suspicions. Can it really be the case that most people throughout the globe have found the past in things that modern scholars themselves also recognize as “archaeologically usable facts”? Merely a hundred years ago, scientists would not have thought, for instance, that pollen or tooth enamel, let alone the radioactive isotopes of carbon, could be meaningful indices of former times. For Pausanias and his contemporaries, some of those traces did not even exist as recognizable entities. And yet, other traces did exist then, including some that – I argue – are not usually considered archaeologically relevant now.

The indices that humans have used to explore and explain their own past are historically and culturally contingent. I aim in this chapter to shed light on a moment in their history by asking the following questions: What counted as a trace of former times in Roman Anatolia? What did archaeophiles do with such traces? What connections did archaeophiles think linked present matter and past time? Answers to this last question can involve technological considerations, such as the advances that enabled radiocarbon or optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dating in the twentieth century AD.⁶ I am primarily interested, however, in the epistemological or conceptual, rather than in the technological, dimensions of the problem.

I probe here basic ontological assumptions about the material and mental ties that interpreters in Roman Anatolia discerned among different and often distant physical traces of the past, as well as between those traces and themselves.⁷ It is worth reiterating that ancient archaeophiles did not usually think about single traces discretely. Rather, they collected and combined traces to produce assemblages. The term “assemblages” demands elucidation since it is intimately associated in the humanities and social sciences with scholarship influenced by the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari.⁸ Although I am aware of these associations, I do not claim a particular theoretical affinity. I use the word to mean the varied phenomena that interpreters integrated to make sense of the material remains that they found interesting, puzzling, and relevant to their own concerns. Towards the end of the chapter, I further clarify my position with respect to current scholarship specifically in archaeology and anthropology. For now, it is sufficient to provide an example of how I understand ancient archaeophiles used assemblages to reflect about the connection between past time and present matter.

In Temenothyrae,⁹ specific combinations of heterogeneous and scattered evidence allowed Pausanias and his interlocutors to draw historical conclusions about the honorand of the rock outcropping he described as a “throne”. That “throne” along with other discrete traces of the past both near and far (i.e., gigantic bones, a cracked mound, cow-horns, and a nearby stream) variously supported conflicting claims that the mound was the tomb of one of two mythological characters: Geryon or Hyllus. Pausanias resolved the matter by invoking a different tomb in distant Cadiz that proved – at least in his own eyes and those of the Lydian guides – that the bones in Temenothyrae must have belonged to Hyllus. Pausanias’s assemblage clinched the identification; it also brought together a community of interpreters who purportedly recognized his authority.

This chapter, then, deals not with traces singly, but rather with the material and mental constructs that ancient archaeophiles described to support or frame their favored historical claims and narratives. I first discuss a few assemblages involving Anatolian rock-cut monuments and show that the problem of defining the limits and contexts of these sites challenged ancient interpreters as much as they have early modern and modern ones. I then turn to three specific natural phenomena (a lake, a plant, and a gas), which – from a modern Western scientific perspective – would not usually be considered indices of the *human* past, but which nonetheless were key parts of the assemblages of some Anatolian archaeophiles. Finally, I discuss what I term living landscapes, in particular mountains that were thought to be people, as yet another way in which the basic components and connections of ancient assemblages do not coincide with those usually recognized as valid by modern archaeologists.



3.1 Relief of Tarhunzas (L) and Warpalawas (R) near İvriz. (Photo by the author.)

THE LIMITS OF İVRİZ

Two modern interpretations of a single rock-cut monument can serve to introduce the matter of how archaeophiles construct assemblages. The monument in question is found near the village of İvriz, in south-central Turkey, on the northern slopes of the Taurus Mountains (Figure 3.1).¹⁰ A relief and several associated Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions were carved in the late eighth century BC.¹¹ The two main texts on the monument explain that the figural scene depicts Warpalawas, king of Tuwana (on the right) venerating the Storm God Tarhunzas (on the left).¹²

I want to concentrate here on how two relatively recent experts, a late seventeenth-century Ottoman intellectual and an early twentieth-century Scottish traveler, archaeologist, and epigrapher combined disparate phenomena to support their own historical narratives about the relief and the wider region. The great Ottoman polymath Kâtip Çelebi, or, as is more likely, a different scholar in his circle,¹³ described the large Iron Age rock-cut monument by the gushing spring as follows:

At the source of the river is a great rock on which the image of a man has been carved that is still visible. It is supposed to represent the bey

of Abrinos, who was an unbeliever and the emir and great man of the village known as Âbrîz (“Pouring Water”). He holds a sheaf of grain in one hand and two bunches of grapes in the other, implying that the statue watches over the sown fields and the vineyards. The above-mentioned river does not go very far into those plains, but descends into the valley and then spreads out into the reed beds. Eventually the overflow sinks into a stone hole known as Düdne (?) and disappears. They say that this river emerged by miracle of Muḥammad, and for this reason the entire town is today a pious endowment (*waqf*).¹⁴

More than two centuries later, a British visitor to İvriz ventured his own interpretation. The interpreter in question, Sir William Ramsay, occupies an intermediate position between antiquarianism and archaeology. In 1909, Ramsay declared that the İvriz relief was “the most remarkable monument in Asia Minor.”¹⁵ Recognizing the importance of the adjacent spring and river, he used the then current Ottoman hydronym (Huda Verdi, literally, “God gave (it)”) to explain the carving’s significance.¹⁶ He also noted the geological phenomenon – common in the karstic landscapes of central Anatolia – of appearing and disappearing water sources. After talking to local peasants, he concluded:

He [i.e., the figure on the left] is the peasant-god, the toiling, simple agriculturist, living by the work of his hands, and making wealth and prosperity for the country and its kings and great men. The kings have come and gone, nothing remains of them and their work. The peasant is eternal and unchangeable.¹⁷

Ramsay was fond of this sort of temporal and cultural flattening, as if little had changed for the inhabitants of the Anatolian countryside since the Iron Age. In addition, he noted the existence of a smaller relief – effectively a miniaturized “copy” – up one of the tributary streams of the İvriz River (now known as the Ambar Deresi).¹⁸ To explain the horned hat of the god, he invoked a passage of Saint Paul that mentions the importance of headgear in the expression of female authority.¹⁹ He also reported that, flanking the upper copy, there was a Byzantine church.²⁰ Furthermore, he compared the shape of the facial features – specifically the nose – of the god in İvriz to that of the seated anthropomorphic figure in Kızıldağ (a monument examined in detail below in this chapter) and surmised that the two were related. In short, Ramsay combined archaeological, geological, ethnographic, and literary evidence, and made formal comparisons with far-off monuments to make the main relief intelligible.

The learned Ottoman interpreter had constructed a similar assemblage to fit the monument near İvriz into Ottoman universal history – a history fashioned under cultural circumstances that were very different, not only from those of Ramsay, but also from those of the Iron Age Anatolian craftsmen who

carved the monument in the first place or, for that matter, from those of the Byzantine masons who built their structures around the smaller copy up the Ambar Deresi. And yet, the interpretations of both Ramsay and the Ottoman intellectual share obvious similarities. Both note, for example, the importance of water at the site and explain the grapes and wheat held by the larger figure as evidence of the relief-makers' concern with fertility. The Ottoman interpreter is less expansive than Ramsay, but he too concluded (or was told by the people who lived around the site) that the figure was a local ancient notable. He even surmised the identity of that character: the name Abrinos is formed, presumably, from the toponym Âbrîz, which is common in Persian and means "gushing water." Although the Ottoman interpreter does not mention the smaller figure on the right or the upper relief in the Ambar Deresi, he too calls attention to a key geological landmark further down the valley: a "düdne," or rather "düden", which is the Turkish word for sinkhole.²¹

In addition to the features that both Ramsay and the Ottoman intellectual recognized as historical evidence, each attended to some physical traces of the past that the other did not consider meaningful. Ramsay, for example, mentioned the Byzantine complex and the upper relief – the latter so obviously relevant from a modern archaeological perspective²² – thereby notionally expanding the archaeological site of İvriz several kilometers upstream. Ramsay used the Bible to explain the god's hat, while the Ottoman interpreter considered the nearby *waqif* (or pious endowment) downstream to be proof of a miracle effected by Muhammad that resulted in the valley becoming fertile. In other words, each archaeophile explained a monument that he knew to be pre-Christian or pre-Islamic partly by invoking, on the one hand, a Christian text, and on the other, an Islamic cultural institution. The Bible and the Quran are part of the cultural and historical horizons that determined what was noticed by these specific interpreters. The abundant water, the grapes, the wheat, the upper relief, the middle Byzantine buildings, the nearby *waqif*, and even the nose of the honorand of the relief in far-off Kızıldağ are not incidental or extraneous; they are key components of two different assemblages that allowed Ramsay and the Ottoman intellectual to interpret the carving on the rock by the spring. Ancient archaeophiles constructed similar hermeneutic structures as they tried to distinguish what was meaningful from what was not in the Anatolian landscape.

It is worth noting that nearly all the Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut monuments in Anatolia attracted the attention of later interpreters, as indeed happened throughout the Near East.²³ An initial carving on a prominent or otherwise striking rock outcropping regularly incited the making of further interventions. In fact, to speak of any carving as "initial" is misleading; usually that carving is simply a salient – from a modern archaeological perspective – response to what was already a meaningful landscape, often a mountain pass or

a spring. In the words of Ömür Harmanşah, "rock reliefs are never finished."²⁴ Diachronic dialogue ensues as landscape monuments throughout the region continue to attract the attention of later archaeophiles; early modern and modern responses are recent episodes in the multi-millennial history of their interpretation.²⁵

As is clear from my own discussion of the sites of Uzunoğlu Tepe, Karabur, and Fasillar in [Chapter 2](#), it is not easy for scholars to analyze the densely layered engagements at the site of Anatolian landscape monuments, or even to determine precisely with what those "original" carvings or later interventions were engaging. One of the most obvious challenges for modern archaeologists interested in rock-cut monuments is defining their spatial and temporal limits. Should topographical descriptions and analyses be restricted only to the few rocks that were carved, which – incidentally – regularly happen to be also the most obvious anthropogenic remains at rural sites? Should descriptions and analyses also include, for example, the various water sources or roads next to which Anatolian landscape monuments are often found? Should they also incorporate the ancient agricultural landscapes in their vicinity or extend over the whole panorama that an observer once commanded from those carved rocks?²⁶ The problem of defining an archaeological "site" is as relevant when considering the initial moment of production of these monuments as it is when dealing with later episodes of interaction with them. Archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia faced these very questions.

"SIGNS" OF THE TANTALIDS ON MOUNT SIPYLUS

Much as Ramsay and the scholar in Kâtip Çelebi's circle did in İvriz, archaeophiles throughout Roman Anatolia constructed assemblages of their own to support historical claims about the local past. Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, for example, provides insight into the types of artifacts that an expert found to be meaningful indices of former times throughout the Mediterranean. Since at least the late nineteenth century AD, scholars have noted that Pausanias makes repeated references in his work to phenomena in western Lydia. As early as 1898, Sir James G. Frazer used these references to suggest that Pausanias was a native of Magnesia, nearby Sipylus:

He [i.e., Pausanias] had seen the white eagles wheeling above the lonely tarn of Tantalus in the heart of the hills; he had beheld the stately tomb of the same hero on Mount Sipylus, the ruined city at the bottom of the clear lake, the rockhewn throne of Pelops crowning the dizzy peak that overhangs the canyon, and the dripping rock which popular fancy took for the bereaved Niobe weeping for her children. He speaks of the clouds of locusts which he had thrice seen vanish from Mount Sipylus, of the wild dance of the peasantry, and of the shrine of Mother Plastene, whose

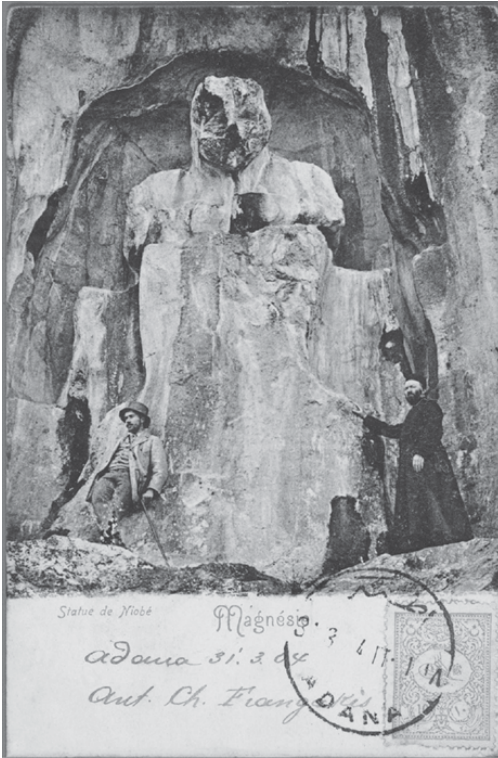
rude image, carved out of the native rock, may still be seen in its niche at the foot of the mountain. From all this it is fair to surmise that Pausanias was born and bred not far from the mountains which he seems to have known and loved so well. Their inmost recesses he may have explored on foot in boyhood and have drunk in their old romantic legends from the lips of woodmen and hunters. Whether, as some conjecture, he was born at Magnesia, the city at the northern foot of Mount Sipylus, we cannot say, but the vicinity of the city to the mountain speaks in favour of the conjecture.²⁷

A good part of Frazer's list comes directly from a single passage of the *Description of Greece* in which Pausanias described the landscape of Mount Sipylus and neighboring territories as a sort of open-air museum:

Even to this [day] there remain signs that Pelops and Tantalus lived among us. Of Tantalus, there is the lake called after him and a conspicuous tomb; of Pelops there is a throne on a peak of Mount Sipylus above the sanctuary of the Mother Plastene. And if you cross the Hermus River, in Temnus there is a statue of Aphrodite made from a blooming myrtle. We take it according to tradition that Pelops dedicated the statue when he was praying to the goddess asking that he might marry Hippodamea.²⁸

This paragraph along with the other references collected by Frazer demonstrate that expert archaeophiles in ancient Anatolia did not conceptualize or experience what Pausanias calls the "signs" (σημεῖα) or traces of the past independently. Rather, interpreters mentally and/or physically collected and combined those signs in order to support specific historical narratives.²⁹ On Mount Sipylus, it was precisely the abundance of traces that Pausanias associated with Tantalus and his children that made the interpretation of individual ones (e.g., the colossal statue of the Mother of the Gods, the throne of Pelops, the tomb of Tantalus, etc.) valid as indices of his favored version of local history. For Pausanias, the complexity of the Tantalid assemblage in western Lydia brought into sharp focus a memory horizon against which indigenous rulers were imagined to have held sway over western Anatolia and beyond.³⁰

Most of the items on Frazer's list – including topographic features, ruined cities, tombs, and statues – would probably be considered "archaeological usable facts" today. And yet, from a modern scholarly perspective, Pausanias has produced a temporal and ontological mish-mash. (So too, by the way, had the Ottoman intellectual at İvriz and indeed Ramsay himself.) The challenge of placing the physical traces of the past in a sequence, even if only relative to each other, is recurrent.³¹ If the various features mentioned by Pausanias have been correctly identified on the ground by modern archaeologists, the landmarks in question date – again, in the eyes of present-day scholars – from geological time to the classical period: the statue of the Mother of the Gods that Pausanias attributes to Broteas was made in the thirteenth century BC



3.2 Postcard of “Niobe” on Mount Sipylus mailed from Adana in 1904. (Mary Evans / Grenville Collins Postcard Collection.)

(Figure 3.2);³² the throne of Pelops and the tomb of Tantalus are late Iron Age or even classical period rock-cut features (Figure 3.3);³³ and, although the Lake of Tantalus is a natural body of water, it is worth noting that Pausanias (along with several other ancient authors) spoke about it in connection with extremely ancient cities destroyed by sudden calamitous floods.³⁴ Intriguingly, tales of landscape features in the region that had survived the biblical flood were known to the Ottoman travel writer Evliya Çelebi.³⁵

Perhaps more surprising than the temporal flattening of what archaeologists describe as Bronze Age, Iron Age, and classical antiquities are the landmarks in Frazer’s list that are not unambiguously manmade, but instead blur the boundary between natural and anthropogenic: the rock that was thought to be the petrified Niobe and the statue of Aphrodite dedicated by Pelops in the town of Temnus. The Lake of Tantalus can also be included here, for it is arguable that – more than a mere toponym honoring an ancient mythological character – that body of water was itself understood to be genetically connected to the Tantalids, as were lakes elsewhere in ancient Lydia.³⁶ These traces of the past (the Lake of Tantalus, the rock of Niobe, and the statue of Aphrodite) were key components in Pausanias’s interpretive assemblage.



3.3 “Tomb of Tantalus” on Mount Sipylus. (Photo by Shane Solow.)

Taken individually, these “signs” raise difficult ontological questions. Consider the statue in Temnus made of blooming myrtle: what exactly was going on with that object? Did Pelops make it while the myrtle wood was still fresh and blooming? Or was the wooden cult statue made from a living tree so that it continued to grow as time went by? If so, in what sense had this artifact been “made” (πεπρωμένον)? References to these and other living traces of the past in Anatolia pose major interpretive challenges for a discipline that has imagined the traces of the past as finished products.³⁷ At the same time, they offer glimpses into specifically Anatolian conceptions of those traces: not everybody in Roman Anatolia imagined them to be static or passive.

In fact, those references illuminate important aspects of Anatolian landscape ontology that have not been taken seriously by classicists, even if specialists working in earlier periods have noticed their importance. There is little doubt that many of the inhabitants of Bronze Age Anatolia conceived of the landscape as animate (as discussed below in this chapter). Scattered but substantial classical period evidence confirms that even millennia later, some landscape features continued to be considered living beings by some of the inhabitants of the region. The notion that a rock had once been a person was not totally fanciful or jarring in cultural traditions that had imagined the landscape to be alive. And so, for Roman period archaeophiles, phenomena that most scholars today would describe as *natural* counted as key indices of remote

human history. It becomes thus indispensable to remember that even when ancient archaeophiles incorporated fossilized bones, archaic statues, ruined buildings, and other “archaeologically usable facts,” the assemblages that made those traces meaningful were often profoundly different from modern ones.

DANCING ON THE “THRONE” IN LYCAONIA

Pausanias was explicit about the material remains on Sipylus that, in his opinion, confirmed the historicity of Tantalid rule over western Anatolia. His account sheds light on the ontological heterogeneity of what he called “signs” (σημεῖα) of former times. It also confirms that ancient archaeophiles made sense of the traces of the past in which they were interested not discretely, but rather as part of complex assemblages. Even when literary texts explicitly describe multiple parts of those assemblages, they never provide the whole, as it were. Scholars have access only to a few of the seemingly isolated components that ancient interpreters combined to make local history. Even in such cases, it is sometimes possible to explore the connections that experts drew among the various traces of the past in which they were interested.

Kızıldağ (or Red Mountain) is a striking site located in what used to be the Roman province of Lycaonia. The mountain is one of several volcanic cones that rise abruptly from the Konya plain. In the eyes of a modern geologist, those cones are visual reminders of cataclysmic transformations in the remote past (Figure 3.4). Kızıldağ itself lies on the southern shores of a seasonal alkaline lake now known as Hotamış (Figure 3.5). On the northwest slopes of Kızıldağ, there is a prominent rock outcropping made of igneous volcanic rock (Figure 3.6). This imposing geological feature has been known as the “throne” (not to be confused with the “throne” at Temenothyrae) ever since Sir William Ramsay and Gertrude Bell gave it that name at the beginning of the twentieth century AD.³⁸ Modern archaeological remains include the following: ceramic sherds indicating continuous occupation from at least the late Bronze Age through the Byzantine period; on the acropolis, a cyclopean fortification of indeterminate date (likely also from the late Bronze Age) and the ruins of an apsed building (probably a Byzantine church); several Bronze Age Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions, including one on a carved rock-cut monument.³⁹ On the “throne” proper there are several other Bronze Age Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions (some of which lie now partially dispersed on the slopes of Kızıldağ after the “throne” was vandalized),⁴⁰ an Iron Age rock-cut relief of a seated male figure,⁴¹ and at least one Greek inscription originally inscribed directly on the horizontal surface of the outcropping.

The layering of carvings on the “throne” requires more detailed elucidation. Towards the end of the second millennium BC (perhaps in the twelfth century), a Luwian-speaking king by the name of Hartapus claimed the outcropping for



3.4 Volcanic mounds on the Konya plain: “Maden Dagh or Genz Dagh, Boz Dagh, Chat Dagh, Hassan Dagh, Kizil Dagh B[in] B[ir] K[ilise]” (photo by Gertrude Bell). (Gertrude Bell Archive – Newcastle University G_051.)

himself by inscribing his name directly on the vertical surface of the “throne” (Figure 3.7). Over an indeterminate period of time – fast dates are hard to come by – other Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions were also carved on or near the “throne.” During the early Iron Age, as many as four centuries after the name of Hartapus had first been incised, ancient sculptors added a figurative relief immediately to the left of the Hartapus inscription. The temporal relation of the rock-cut relief and the Anatolian hieroglyphic inscription poses an interesting and difficult problem. Based on epigraphic and stylistic considerations, the inscription is now usually dated to the Bronze Age and the adjacent relief to the Iron Age.⁴² The relief depicts a seated bearded king holding a spear in his left hand and a bowl in his right. Stylistic details (including the tight curls of the figure’s beard) are reminiscent of Neo-Assyrian carvings. As a result, the relief is usually dated to the ninth or eighth century BC.⁴³ Local populations may have carved the image in a deliberately Assyrianizing style to celebrate either a local ruler, or perhaps a Neo-Assyrian king.⁴⁴ Although it is unclear who commissioned the relief or who its honorand was, those successive carvings are proof of the magnetic force of Anatolian landscape monuments over the centuries.

At some point in the late Hellenistic or early Roman period – but certainly many centuries after the relief of the seated king was commissioned and perhaps more than a millennium after the inscription of Hartapus was carved – someone else incised the outlines of at least six sets of footprints on the horizontal platform of the “throne,” along with the following text (Figure 3.8 and Figure 3.9):⁴⁵

Κράτερος Ἑρμοκράτου

ἱερεὺς ἐπήδησε⁴⁶

The priest, Craterus, [son] of Hermocrates, leaped



3.5 Map of Karadağ, Kızıldag, and Lake Hotamuş. (Drawing by Jorge Hernán Zambrano after plans published in Ehringhaus (2014) and Karağuz, Bahar, and Kunt (2002).)



3.6 The “throne” on Kızıldağ, with the dry Lake Hotamış in the background. (Courtesy of Ömür Harmanşah.)

Modern scholars have had difficulty distinguishing the successive moments of engagement with the landscape of Kızıldağ. Regardless of how exactly those various interventions should be fitted in a temporal sequence, the short Greek text on the “throne” is perplexing. It too demonstrates the importance of embodied experience in some manifestations of archaeophilia in Roman Anatolia. What kind of movement did Craterus make on the “throne”? An actual jump from the outcropping would almost certainly be fatal. In discussing the inscription, Angelos Chaniotis tentatively suggested “a ritual dance?”⁴⁷ Even if Craterus did not literally jump off the cliff, any sort of vigorous movement on the outcropping – if performed carelessly – would be extremely hazardous. Regardless of what the movement involved, the question remains: why was Craterus leaping or dancing in front of those Bronze and Iron Age ruins? Perhaps the priest and his fellow “ritual experts” (as Chaniotis called them) may have identified the seated figure as a divinity, as certainly happened in the Greek and Roman periods at other Anatolian Bronze and Iron Age landscape monuments.⁴⁸

Comparative evidence provides insight into the purpose of forceful bodily movements in such a precarious spot. Pausanias describes the following vertiginous performances near Magnesia on the Maeander:

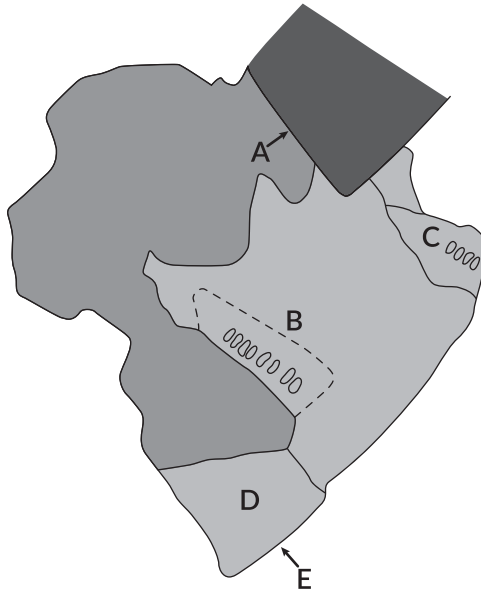
There is also a place called Aulæ by the Magnesians who live by the river Lethæus. There is a cave there dedicated to Apollo, it is not a great



3.7 Luwian inscription of Hartapus and relief of seated ruler. (Photo by the author.)

wonder on account of its size, but the statue of Apollo is exceedingly ancient, and it furnishes strength for every labor. And men that are sacred to him jump from precipitous crags and high cliffs, and they uproot gigantic trees and go on a path with their burdens along the narrowest of paths.⁴⁹

Perhaps a disruption of the vestibular sense in Kızıldağ induced in Craterus an altered state of consciousness. As is known from religious specialists elsewhere in the world, “an assault on the sense of equilibrium” may lead to communion with the divine.⁵⁰ It seems possible that, for Craterus, energetic bodily movement of some sort was not only desirable, but also a key way to make the ancient “throne” meaningful. Two facts are beyond doubt: a local archaeophile in Hellenistic or early Roman Lycaonia selected the crag of Hartapus to perform his leaping or dancing and decided to document his actions precisely next to the Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions and relief.⁵¹ Furthermore, Craterus (and probably others in his retinue or family) had expert embodied knowledge. The priest knew how to move, and his companions knew where to stand on the “throne.” Although the semantic content of the Bronze Age texts on Kızıldağ had almost certainly ceased to be intelligible to anyone many centuries before Craterus,⁵² and although the original identity of Hartapus and whoever



Schematic plan of the “throne”
(see alongside Figures 3.6 and 3.12)

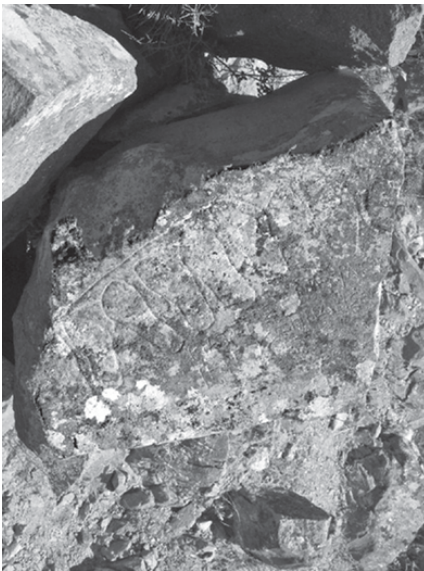
A Hartapus inscription (Kızıldağ 1) and associated relief

B Traces of feet and Greek inscription

C Traces of feet

D and E Luwian inscriptions (Kızıldağ 2 and 3)

3.8 Map of carved features on the “throne” on Kızıldağ (see also Figures 3.6 and 3.12). (Drawing by Jorge Hernán Zambrano after plans published in Ehringhaus (2014) and Karauğuz, Bahar, and Kunt (2002).)



3.9 Greek inscription of Craterus and outlines of footprints originally on the “throne” in Kızıldağ. (Photo by the author.)

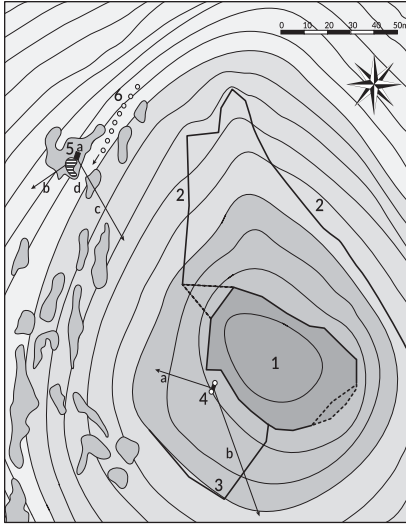


3.10 View of Karadağ from Kızıldağ. (Photo by Tayfun Bilgin.)

may have added his own semblance to Hartapus’s inscription had probably long been forgotten, the carved text and image on “throne” and indeed the entire landscape was meaningful. Craterus’s leap or dance was part of the assemblage through which the priest reactivated the traces of the past in Kızıldağ.

What do I mean by reactivated? In order to answer this question, it is necessary to zoom out slightly and to consider not just the “throne,” but also the larger assemblage of which it was part. Several of the monumental remains on Kızıldağ are in visual dialogue with nearby landscape features. The stepped monument bearing an Anatolian hieroglyphic inscription that is situated a few dozen meters away from the “throne” offers a majestic view of the volcanic cone of Mahalıç Tepesi (Figures 3.5, 3.10 and 3.11).⁵³ Moreover, the “throne” overlooks Hotamış Lake, which is now almost completely dry, but the waters of which fluctuated until recently (Figure 3.12).

Evidently, the landscape around Kızıldağ was until recently itself dynamic and (re-)active. On his outcropping, the priest jumped or danced and looked over water that appeared and disappeared seasonally.⁵⁴ Judging from ancient Anatolian folklore, seasonal lakes incited a sense of awe long before and long after Hartapus had commissioned the inscription on the “throne.” Tales of floods and other sudden shifts in water levels in central Anatolia are well attested in Greek and Roman mythology. Lakes, moreover, had been intimately connected to political authority throughout the peninsula since at



3.11 Map showing archaeological remains on Kızıldağ, including (2) remains of fortification walls, (4) location of the inscribed stepped monument (see [Figure 3.10](#)), and (5) the location of the Hartapus relief (see [Figure 3.7](#)), incised footprints, and Craterus inscription (see [Figure 3.9](#)). (Drawing by Jorge Hernán Zambrano after a diagram published in Ehringhaus 2014.)

least the Bronze Age.⁵⁵ Craterus and his companions may well have felt that numinous power resided on the conspicuously modified outcrop overlooking Lake Hotamış. That “throne,” the various textual and figurative carvings on it and on nearby monuments, the volcanic cones, the seasonal lake, and, most importantly, the priest’s own spirited bodily performance were all part of his hermeneutic assemblage.

For some ancient archaeophiles, assemblages were not simply collections of evidence or abstract analytical tools. The connections that tied these archaeophiles to the traces of the past in which they were interested were as important as or more important than those tying the traces to each other. Thus, such experts sometimes became part of their own assemblages in direct, embodied ways. The importance of the embodied dimensions of ancient archaeophilia resonates with strands of contemporary archaeological theory mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Yannis Hamilakis, for instance, argues that archaeological methodologies “should encompass not only the separate analyses of the distinctive categories of archaeological material but also, and most crucially, the analysis of the sensorial assemblage as a whole.”⁵⁶ Hamilakis’s call is alluring for those interested in exploring the past in the past. Even if it is not ever strictly possible to analyze any ancient “sensorial assemblage as a whole,” the body of experts demonstrably was a key part of those assemblages.

Independently, classical archaeologists and historians have previously noted the importance of both materiality and autopsy in the staking of historical



3.12 The “throne” on Kızıldağ, showing Lake Hotamış in the background. (Gonnet-Bağana, Hatice; Hartapu monument, Kızıldağ; Hatice Gonnet-Bağana Hittite Collection; Koç University, Istanbul, Turkey.)

claims and the production of cultural memories.⁵⁷ But senses other than sight were often key in the interpretation and manipulation of the physical traces of the past. In [Chapter 2](#), I argued that many archaeophiles displayed various forms of “expert empiricism.”⁵⁸ Mucianus, for instance, sought to touch the breastplate of Amasis, to count its threads and confirm or disprove the report of Herodotus; rural athletes in Roman Fasıllar strengthened community bonds by participating in the regional competitions held next to a colossal Bronze Age monolith; and Roman emperors re-enacted what they imagined to be Homeric celebrations in Troy. In Kızıldağ, Craterus danced in front of Bronze and Iron Age carvings as he witnessed Lake Hotamış come into being below.

DRAGON SPOOR IN WESTERN ANATOLIA

Other natural phenomena in Anatolia provide further insight into the importance and diversity of embodied experience in some manifestations of archaeophilia as well as into the heterogeneity of assemblages that ancient interpreters constructed to make sense of the physical traces of the past. Various landscapes in Lydia and Phrygia (as indeed elsewhere in Roman Anatolia) were understood to be dotted with indices of the struggle between a frightful dragon and its human adversaries. The myth of Illuyankas – as that dragon is known in Hittite texts – is a favorite among Indo-Europeanists, Hittitologists, and classical philologists. Different attestations of that myth over several millennia shed light on the vagaries of transmission of cultural information in Anatolia from the Bronze Age through Late Antiquity and beyond.

Some of the scattered evidence attesting to the long-term life of the myth of Illuyankas in Anatolia and neighboring regions has been known since the early twentieth century AD. Here I offer a critical assessment of the main sources and then discuss two living traces of the primordial combat between the dragon and his Anatolian adversaries. By living traces I mean phenomena like the seasonal Lake of Hotamış or the petrified Niobe on Mount Sipylus that should be counted as *natural* according to a modern scientific perspective, but which, in the mind of archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia, were indices of *human* history. Specifically, I will consider, first, a plant that grew along the banks of the Hermus River, which allowed the inhabitants of Roman Lydia to physically experience and relive a key episode in the dragon-slaying myth; and, second, a naturally emanating toxic gas in the city of Hierapolis that was architecturally framed in the first century AD to recall the deadly power of that dragon.

In Bronze Age Hattusas, the Hittite capital, the myth of Illuyankas is preserved in cuneiform tablets in two versions,⁵⁹ both involving dealings between the Hittite Storm God, Tarhunna,⁶⁰ and the formidable dragon or serpentine monster Illuyankas.⁶¹ In one version, Illuyankas is rendered powerless by the



3.13 Relief of gods battling giant snake from Aslantepe (Malatya), now in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara. (Photo by Müge Durusu.)

goddess Inara and a man called Hupasiya, who manages to intoxicate the monster so that the Storm God can kill it. In the other, the Storm God is initially defeated by Illuyankas and deprived of his heart and eyes, which the Storm God then recovers through the help of his own son. At its core, the Illuyankas myth involves the combat between a hero, his helper(s), and a dragon, as well as the restoration to health of the hero through the aid (or trickery) of his helper.

No Iron Age text of the Anatolian myth is extant, but a well-known ninth-century BC orthostat relief from Aslantepe (near ancient Melid/modern Malatya), now housed in the Museum of Anatolian Civilizations in Ankara, depicts two gods (distinguished as such by their characteristic conical horned hats) confronting a giant coiling “eel-snake.” The enormous monster swims in what seem to be reeds and gurgling water (Figure 3.13).⁶²

Variants of the myth of Illuyankas were also known to several Greek and Roman authors. The least informative of the three main ancient literary sources is the fifth/sixth-century AD Neo-Platonic philosopher Aeneas of Gaza,⁶³ who merely mentions the resuscitation of a character called Tymon (*sic*) by the hero Heracles.⁶⁴ The earliest extant testimony is transmitted by Pliny the Elder. Pliny wrote in the first century AD, but he cites the fifth-century BC Lydian historian Xanthus as an authority, which would suggest that the myth was also told in Achaemenid Sardis.⁶⁵ I quote Pliny’s brief report in its entirety:

Xanthus, author of histories, reports in the first [book] of these that the slain offspring of the dragon was called back to life by his parent through the use of an herb, which he denominates *balis*, and with the same herb, Tylon, whom the dragon had slain, was restored to health.⁶⁶

The tale was also known to the fourth/fifth-century AD Greco-Egyptian wandering poet Nonnus of Panopolis, whose *Dionysiaca* is a treasure trove of information about the local mythology of Anatolia.⁶⁷ Nonnus devoted

more than a hundred lines to the Anatolian dragon myth and recorded many otherwise unattested details.⁶⁸ The narrative in Nonnus's *Dionysiaca* can be summarized as follows: when walking along the steep banks of the Hermus River, the hero Tylon was attacked by a snake that was wont to kill people. The snake spat the "juice of Fate" (ἰκμάδα Μοίρης) at Tylon who promptly died (25.451–469). Tylon's sister, Moria, secured the help of the giant called Damasen (*sic*) to avenge her dead brother (25.470–494).⁶⁹ A great "earth-shaking" (25.513) struggle then ensued between Damasen, whom Nonnus has previously called "the dragon-slayer" (δρακοντοφόνος 25.453), and the snake, which now has assumed fantastic proportions. Damasen killed the snake/dragon (25.495–521). Afterward, Moria watched as a female snake, "like a woman longing for her spouse," resuscitated the slain animal with a "divine herb" (θέσπιδα ποίην) referred to as the "flower of Zeus" (Διὸς ἄνθος, presumably the *balis* of Pliny/Xanthus). The female snake applied the resuscitating antidote to the dry nostril of her mate (25.521–538). Upon seeing this, Moria took the life-giving herb and, following the same procedure, resuscitated her brother, Tylon (25.539–552). The key aspects of the myth for our discussion are not just the combat with the dragon, but also the dragon's ability to spit venom from a distance, as well as the life-restoring herb and its administration through the nostrils.

The Exploding Cucumber of Immortality along the Hermus River

Interest in the story of Tylon, Mas(d)nes, and the serpentine monster in Roman Sardis is attested numismatically and epigraphically.⁷⁰ In the second quarter of the third century AD, the city issued three coins illustrating several moments in the myth. A single specimen of each coin-type survives today. The reverse of the earliest of these coins shows two naked, club-bearing heroes, whose names – inscribed in tiny lettering between them – are Tylon and Masnes. Masnes, on the right, hands a plant (presumably the *balis*/"flower of Zeus") to Tylon on the left; at the heroes' feet lies a dead snake (Figure 3.14).⁷¹ On the reverse of the second coin, a lone naked hero labeled Masdnes (*sic*) is forcefully raising a club against a defiant coiling snake that holds a plant (again, presumably the *balis*) in its jaws (Figure 3.15).⁷² The reverse of the third coin depicts a man riding a chariot driven by snakes. On this coin too an inscription identifies the triumphant charioteer as Tylon; this coin appears to depict the hero's apotheosis.⁷³ Louis Robert pointed out that the names of at least two Sardian tribes (attested in Roman period inscriptions) may be related to the myth: the Masdnians and the Alibalians.⁷⁴ The first appellation recalls the eccentric spelling of the hero's name on the coin of Gordian; the second may be conceivably related to that of the life-restoring herb which, according to



3.14 Coin of Alexander Severus; reverse showing Tylon, Masdnes, dead snake, and *balis*, Sardis. (© The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.)



3.15 Coin of Gordian; reverse showing Masdnes combating snake with *balis* in its jaws. Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale de France. (© Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

Pliny, the snake’s “spouse” and Moria used to resuscitate their respective “husband” and brother.

What was it that made the myth of Illuyankas (or whatever the dragon was called in Roman Lydia) have lasting relevance from the Bronze Age through Late Antiquity? Indo-Europeanists have elucidated the tenacity of the story, arguing that poetic motifs are analogous to phonemes and consubstantial with the myth itself: systematic similarities between two poetic languages thus reflect a common origin. But this merely explains the conservatism, not the relevance of the myth. Motiphemes account for some of the tale’s recurrent details, not why it continued to be told through the centuries.⁷⁵ Classical philologists, in turn, have assumed that the survival of such narratives involves the careful and deliberate preservation of cultural information on the part of literate elites. If a Late Antique poet such as Nonnus preserves a seemingly arcane Anatolian myth, it is because he belonged to a community of

scholars who not only valued such information, but also put a premium on curating, archiving, and transmitting it. Similarly, historians, epigraphists, and numismatists have explained coins celebrating local myths such as those of Tylon and Mas(d)nes at Sardis as a manifestation of *paideia*, tokens of erudite learning and mythological fancy.⁷⁶

These various explanations provide insight into some aspects of the transmission of the myth, but they are in some ways antithetical. While for the Indo-Europeanists the fact that the myth is long-lasting is partly the result of involuntary obstinacy transcending the genius of a single poet, for literary historians and numismatists the myth is preserved by the deliberate actions of sophisticated conservators of cultural information. I want to call attention to the fact that, whatever was happening subconsciously or in learned circles, the myth also had relevance in people's daily experience in widely accessible natural phenomena in Lydia. The interaction between vernacular and erudite traditions (as attested in Hellenistic and Late Antique poets such as Nonnus) deserves further investigation.

The most spectacular of geological landmarks associated with the frightful dragon are the lava fields and volcanic cones known in antiquity as Katakekaumene (or "Burnt [Land]") near modern Uşak – a beautiful and bizarre landscape that offered visual confirmation of the fiery wrath of a primeval monster (Figure 3.16). The description of William Arundell, a nineteenth-century AD traveler, conveys some of the Katakekaumene's eerie beauty:

I was much struck, I might say almost horror-struck, at seeing about six or seven hundred yards of a large volcanic mountain, of which the character was so distinctly marked that it seems but latterly to have ceased to burn. The colour was very dark, almost approaching to black, and the numerous lighter streaks, running down the top all round, marked the course of the lava. On one side its course was more boldly marked: a high ridge from the crater down in a zigzag direction towards the town of Koolah was the principal current, and it formed in its course a most extraordinary looking ridge of considerable breadth and height, all the way to the town. The light coloured houses, white and shining minarets, and the green trees of Koolah, were strongly contrasted with this awful and terrible looking volcanic mountain and ridge.⁷⁷

This landscape was associated with the fire-spitting monster Typhon (another avatar of Illuyankas) in Greek and Roman antiquity.⁷⁸ West of the "Burnt Land" down the Hermus River, and conspicuous, even today, from the acropolis of Sardis, was the Gygaean Lake, sometimes thought to be the lair of a dragoness.⁷⁹ While Typhon lurked inland in the "Scorched Land," his "spouse" seems to have preferred a watery abode.⁸⁰ Also to the west, but now along the Maeander River valley, were caves that spewed mephitic gases which themselves were associated intimately with the dragon (as discussed

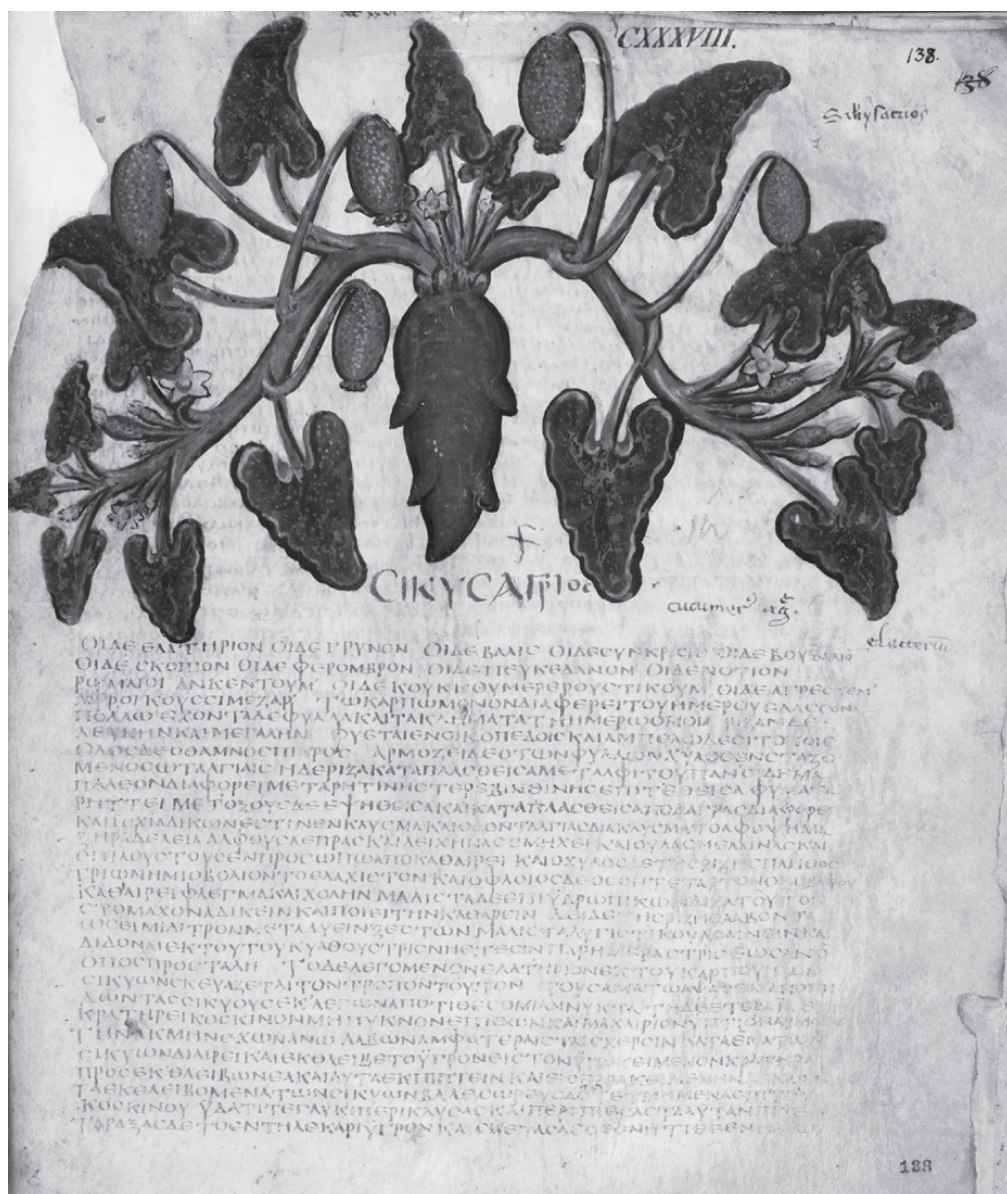


3.16 Lava flows and volcano in the Katakekaumene (“Burnt Land”) near Uşak. (Alamy Stock Photo.)

further below). The various connections of these geological features with the dragon-slaying myth have been explored piecemeal by Indo-Europeanists, Hittitologists, classical philologists, and numismatists. There is more to be said, however, about the importance of a common plant in the assemblage used by ancient archaeophiles to support narratives telling of the exploits of Tylon and Masdnes in Roman Lydia.

In addition to the tenacity of an Indo-European myth and the obsession with local mythology common among Hellenistic poets and their Roman followers, it is important to note that the inhabitants of ancient Lydia interacted intimately – in embodied fashion – with living traces of the myth in the region. A plant that grew on the banks of the Hermus River and indeed throughout western Anatolia was an index of the events involving Tylon, Mas(d)nes, and the dragon. The plant that resuscitated Tylon was called “flower of Zeus” by Nonnus and *balis* by Pliny the Elder (and presumably also by Xanthus before him).

The name *balis*, according to the first-century AD botanist Dioscorides, was a variant for the “exploding cucumber” or *Ecballium elaterium* (Figure 3.17), a plant which the botanist describes as being useful to make laxatives and emetics, among other remedies.⁸¹ The cucumber gets its name from the fact that, when ripe, the plant squirts (Greek ἐκβάλλειν) its seeds in a gooey liquid



3.17 Exploding cucumber (*Eballium elaterium*) from Naples Dioscorides. (Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli.)

over a considerable distance (Figure 3.18). There is evidence in poetry that the association between this cucumber and the dragon or snake may have extended beyond Lydia.⁸² In his wide-ranging book about Greek and Roman dragon myths, Daniel Ogden has further explored the intimate connections between the dragon's poison and the various plant-derived *pharmaka* used against the beast.⁸³



3.18 Exploding cucumber (*Ecballium elaterium*). (© Framespool.)

In Roman Lydia, the exploding cucumber, common on the banks of the Hermus River, was the magical plant that revived the mythical hero Tylon. The smell of its flower is slightly offensive – perhaps in antiquity that odor was further confirmation of its association with the dragon. That this is the plant of the myth is further suggested by the details of the story of the two heroes and their snaky opponent. The dragon’s own method of attack (that is, spitting a fountain of venom from a distance), which is described no fewer than three times in Nonnus’s *Dionysiaca*, is reminiscent of the manner of reproduction of the “exploding cucumber.” Furthermore, according to Nonnus, the “flower of Zeus” was applied directly into the nostrils of the offending beast by his consort as well as into the dry nostril of the dead hero by his sister. In rural Turkey today, this is also a common method of administration of the plant’s curative juice, which is used to treat sinusitis – an uncomfortable treatment since the substance is a mild irritant. Some modern medical trials insist on the exploding cucumber’s efficaciousness; others, however, condemn it as poisonous.⁸⁴

Efficacious or not, embodied experience was partly responsible for the lasting cultural relevance of the Bronze Age dragon myth in Roman Lydia. The inhabitants of the region who underwent the *balis*/“flower of Zeus” treatment might have felt (or been told by their parents?) that they were re-enacting the local heroes’ experience of death by poison followed by resuscitation. Although not a treatment for sinusitis, Catholic communion is an analogous act of ingestion whose partakers imagine a resurrection. Quite apart from monumental reliefs, coins, or volcanic landscapes, the power of the life-restoring *balis*/“flower of Zeus” could also be confirmed through direct nasal

engagement with a common plant that turned people with inflamed sinuses into re-enactors of the revival of Tylon.

Respiratory History in Hierapolis

There were traces of the dragon elsewhere in western Anatolia. Some 50 kilometers south of the Katakekaumene, in the province of Phrygia, was the city of Hierapolis, now known as Pamukkale (or “Cotton Castle”). The town lies near the Lycus River, one of the tributaries of the Maeander. Today it is both a tourist trap and a magnificent archaeological site. In the summer, travelers flock there to see the white travertine pools (which account for the modern Turkish toponym) and also the aquamarine thermal waters advertised on travel brochures and posters throughout the country. Many of those pools have dried out, partly as a result of unchecked development carried out to satisfy touristic demand for hotels immediately by the thermal waters. Still, visitors traverse recently made concrete replicas and wade through the calciferous streams that, now much scarcer and carefully administered by the local authorities, continue to trickle off local cliffs (Figure 3.19).

In Roman antiquity, Hierapolis was already a center of religious pilgrimage as well as a sort of tourist trap.⁸⁵ Not entirely unlike the modern planners in Pamukkale who commissioned concrete structures to imitate the natural travertine pools, religious officials in Roman Hierapolis constructed an architectural complex for locals and visitors to experience up close the extraordinary power of the ancestral chthonic forces that were manifest in the local landscape.

Much of the Roman province of Phrygia was a backwater. As Ute Kelp has argued, “[Phrygia’s] essence is to be found in the countryside, lacking as it did the crucial elements of Graeco-Roman culture and urban *paideia*.”⁸⁶ Even so, the inhabitants of urban centers in Phrygia were moved to seek, to frame, and to display local traces of the remote past. As a Hellenistic foundation, Hierapolis was a relatively young city,⁸⁷ especially in comparison with other nearby cities in western Anatolia such as Ephesus, Pergamum, or Sardis. Unlike Sardis, for instance, Hierapolis had not been the capital of an Anatolian empire. Unlike Ephesus and Pergamum, Hierapolis had no cultural pedigree, no archaic statues and bases, and no inscriptions in ancient languages and scripts to confirm claims to former glory. On the other hand, the town did have a booming textile industry that relied on the local mineral waters for processing and dyeing.⁸⁸ Partly as a result of the prosperity brought about by industrial activity, Hierapolis boasted several temples, a grand theater, and a series of thermal springs and baths that attracted visitors from afar. There was also a natural cave or grotto that emitted – and, in fact, continues to emit – a noxious gas.⁸⁹

For archeophiles in Roman Hierapolis, that deadly gas was physical evidence that primeval subterranean powers continued to be active in the



3.19 Natural travertine pools in Hierapolis. (Photograph by Antoine Tavenaux (CC 3.0 license).)

present.⁹⁰ In the first half of the first century AD, a sanctuary was built in Hierapolis dedicated to the gods of the underworld, Pluto and Kore.⁹¹ This Plutonium, which lay precisely over the seismic fault from which the gas emanated, has been the subject of recent investigations by the Italian Mission led by Francesco D'Andria. The architectural complex included a small round temple and a doorway to the underworld. A stone theater capable of seating six hundred spectators was erected for tourists and pilgrims who had come to witness macabre performances (Figure 3.20).⁹² Those performances were described in detail by several ancient visitors.⁹³ Strabo, who knew the geography of the Maeander intimately, having studied in Nysa,⁹⁴ vividly describes the experience of visiting the sanctuary and explicitly links geological activity with both the religious and industrial life of the city:

Hierapolis, where are the hot springs and the Plutonium, both of which have something marvellous about them; for the water of the springs so easily congeals and changes into stone that people conduct streams of it through ditches and thus make stone fences consisting of single stones, while the Plutonium, below a small brow of the mountainous country that lies above it, is an opening of only moderate size, large enough to admit a man, but it reaches a considerable depth, and it is enclosed by a quadrilateral handrail, about half a plethrum in circumference, and this space is full of a vapour so misty and dense that one can scarcely see the



3.20 Plutonium complex in Hierapolis. (Archive of the Italian Archaeological Mission of Hierapolis in Phrygia (reconstruction by Massimo Limoncelli). Courtesy of Francesco D'Andria.)

ground. Now to those who approach the handrail anywhere round the enclosure the air is harmless, since the outside is free from that vapor in calm weather, for the vapor then stays inside the enclosure, but any animal that passes inside meets instant death. At any rate, bulls that are led into it fall and are dragged out dead; and I threw in sparrows and they immediately breathed their last and fell. But the Galli, who are eunuchs, pass inside with such impunity that they even approach the opening, bend over it, and descend into it to a certain depth, though they hold their breath as much as they can (for I could see in their countenances an indication of a kind of suffocating attack, as it were), – whether this immunity belongs to all who are maimed in this way or only to those round the temple, or whether it is because of divine providence, as would be likely in the case of divine obsessions, or whether it is, the result of certain physical powers that are antidotes against the vapor. The changing of water into stone is said also to be the case with the rivers in Laodiceia, although their water is potable. The water at Hierapolis is remarkably adapted also to the dyeing of wool, so that wool dyed with the roots rival those dyed with the coccus or with the marine purple. And the supply of water is so abundant that the city is full of natural baths.⁹⁵

Evidently, ritual experts were in charge of demonstrating and at the same time defying the toxicity of the gas. Those skilled priests knew how to interact with an underground poisonous substance while avoiding intoxication and death; they were, effectively, respiratory acrobats – among their modern-day



3.21 Coin of Magnesia with a man leading a bull into a cave. (© The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.)



3.22 Bronze coin of Nysa with a bust of Maximus on obverse; men carrying a dead bull on their shoulders on reverse; Roman Provincial, Imperial Period, AD 235–238; Mint: Asia, Lydia, Nysa; Diameter: 35.5 mm. Weight: 18.75 gm. Die axis: 6; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Theodora Wilbour Fund in memory of Zoë Wilbour 1999.26. (Photo © 2018 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)

counterparts are free divers. In Hierapolis, the spectacle-of-death-inflicted (on birds and bulls) was trumped by the even more exciting spectacle-of-death-defied (by eunuchs). Similar performances took place in Plutonia in cities along the Maeander River, including in Nysa and Magnesia. As D’Andria and others have shown, Roman coins from these neighboring cities commemorate such performances by illustrating both the process of leading the bulls to their deaths (Figure 3.21) and that of extracting them from the cave after they had been poisoned (Figure 3.22).⁹⁶

At a time of fierce inter-city rivalries, often pivoting around matters of autochthony and chronological precedence, the Hierapolitans confirmed the importance as well as the antiquity of their city by calling attention to their gaspewing grotto. What Hierapolis lacked in historical credentials and in ancient

material remains, it compensated by monumentalizing a cave that emitted a deadly gas. That gas was understood to be an index of remote mythical events. Indeed, it was a living trace of the fire-breathing dragon whose exploits and adversaries were celebrated also elsewhere in the region (including in the Katakekaumene and along the Hermus River valley).

The local explanation of the geological wonder in Hierapolis involved a dragon or serpent that was the child of Earth, as well as a dragon-slayer identified in the Roman period as Apollo. As it happens, the Plutonium that was built over the grotto was part of a much larger sanctuary to Apollo where a regional oracle operated. Some of that oracle's prophecies were publicly inscribed on marble blocks that were later reused in the local Martyrium of Saint Philip, who was himself a dragon-slayer.⁹⁷ One of those blocks recorded a prophecy, in the voice of Apollo, recommending compensation to the "sacred earth" for the slaying of the dragon's offspring by none other than Apollo himself.⁹⁸ That the slain earth-born offspring was the dragon once associated with the vapors is further suggested by local coins from the second century AD celebrating Apollo Pythoktonos, that is to say, Apollo the Python-slayer.⁹⁹ D'Andria's excavations have brought to light statues of Cerberus (the legendary triple-headed guard dog of the underworld) and of a giant coiling snake. Even more interestingly, it turns out that the site is not altogether devoid of early archaeological remains. D'Andria has recently found a series of anthropogenic holes and cup-marks in the bedrock from which the gas emanates. Those cuttings strongly suggest the grotto was a sacred site in the archaic period, long before the city was founded.¹⁰⁰

One could speculate about a boastful public exhibition of castrated men with an extraordinary capacity to hold their breath in a city that probably reeked with the stench of its lucrative dyeing and textile industries. Peter Thonemann noted that "unlike at Laodicea and Philadelphia, the calciferous hot springs [which were essential to the industrial activity] of Hierapolis rose within the urban center itself, keeping the infrastructural costs of textile-production to a minimum."¹⁰¹ Hierapolis's geographic advantage inevitably resulted in unwanted smells within the city. In a place that stank with the byproducts of wool- and dye-processing, locals and foreigners were awed by men who had trained themselves not to breathe in order to commune with ancient chthonic forces. The stench of the present may have been linked to the vaporous traces that confirmed historical narratives about the remote local past in Hierapolis.

In Roman Anatolia, the local past was not simply to be celebrated on coins and sculptural reliefs, or to be found scattered in ruins dispersed through city and countryside. By besting the stench of a fearful dragon through controlled asphyxiation, applying the juice of the *balis*/ "flower of Zeus" into someone's inflamed nostrils, or intrepidly leaping from an inscribed rock outcropping

that overlooked a seasonal lake, the traces of the past were also experienced through direct embodied engagements. A few archaeophiles took that deadly gas, that life-restoring plant, and that disappearing lake not just as traces of the past, but as traces of a past that continued to be active in the present.

LIVING TRACES: ANATOLIAN MOUNTAIN-PEOPLE

There were also other living traces of the past that were active in specifically human ways. Indeed, some of the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia recognized certain landscape features as animate persons. Obviously, the notion that some mountains, rocks, lakes, and rivers were literally alive – let alone conscious, sentient, and cognizant – does not accord well with modern understandings of either geology or biology, but this peculiarity of Anatolian landscape ontology had deep roots in the peninsula. In fact, recognition of such living landscapes is fundamental to an investigation of distinctly Anatolian manifestations of archaeophilia, even if – or rather especially because – the notion of mountain-people seems preposterous from a modern Western scientific perspective.¹⁰² By mountain-people I mean mountains that are understood to act like people: to eat and drink, to feel emotion, to talk and listen, to sing and have musical taste.

Before considering material from Roman Anatolia, I will briefly review evidence for the existence of mountain-people in the Bronze Age. This detour into the second millennium BC is necessary because Bronze Age specialists, especially Hittitologists, have long been aware of the existence of mountain-people. Volkert Haas's 1982 monograph on Hittite mountain gods and Hurrian stone-demons remains a seminal contribution to the study of ancient Anatolian conceptions of landscape. In that book, Haas described specifically Hittite mountains as "beings full of dynamic might and not merely static stages or backdrops for clashes between gods and demons, or the residence of supernatural powers."¹⁰³ It is worth stating explicitly that although my own ideas about Anatolian mountain-people have been influenced by the so-called ontological turn in anthropology, archaeology, and art history, Haas reached his conclusion almost forty years ago – it was not a reaction to these more recent theoretical movements.¹⁰⁴ In fact, the living and sentient dynamism of mountains (as well as many other landscape features) is widely recognized by Hittitologists. Trevor Bryce succinctly explained the situation:

on the earth every rock, mountain, tree, spring, and river had its resident god or spirit. These were not mere abstractions, but vital living entities. Even substances like silver and fire were regarded as conscious living forces endowed with human emotions.¹⁰⁵

Hittite philologists in particular have access to a remarkable body of evidence that attests to the existence of mountain-people. Not all mountains in

Anatolia were mountain-people: some were straightforward mountains, but others were imagined to behave in human ways. Relevant textual references are found in a wide range of literary genres: mountains speak to each other and to animals in Hittite myths and parables.¹⁰⁶ In prayers, mountains are said to feel emotion.¹⁰⁷ In oaths and treatises, they are invoked as witnesses along with gods and other landscape features.¹⁰⁸ The performers of Hittite rituals sometimes interpellate mountains directly, as when the seer in the so-called ritual of Iriya says: “Rally to me, you mountains!” And the mountains are said to reply: “Fear not! We will rally to you.”¹⁰⁹ At other times mountains are stubborn and refuse to obey.¹¹⁰ Other rituals demand that offerings of food and drink be made to mountains.

Classicists, on their part, have occasionally turned their attention to mountains.¹¹¹ A few have also noted the existence of Anatolian mountain-people.¹¹² Since the beginning of the twentieth century AD, scholars have been aware that the ancient “Anatolian” understanding of mountains was different from that which, for lack of a better term, we may call “Greek.” Already in 1927, Sir William Ramsay recognized the frustrating epistemological challenges faced by anyone attempting to understand ancient Anatolian mountain ontology. In what initially seems like an apology for the speculative character of his research, Ramsay asked rhetorically: “Who can prove that a mountain had a meaning to the Anatolian people five thousand years ago?” The implicit answer to his rhetorical question was: “no one.” And yet, Ramsay went on to say: “If any one cannot see the meaning, he should hold his own opinion and throw aside my humble book.”¹¹³ Even if we cannot understand exactly what a mountain – let alone a mountain-person – meant to the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia, it is nonetheless possible to show that mountain-people continued to hold sway over some of the inhabitants of the region through the Greek and Roman periods. In fact, they continue to be attested even after the advent of Christianity.¹¹⁴

In a wide-ranging essay entitled “Imaginary Greek Mountains,” Richard Buxton claimed in passing that while Greek “belief” about the divinity of mountains favored associating gods with them, the Cappadocians of central Anatolia actually identified mountains as gods.¹¹⁵ A noticeable difference between Anatolian and Greek landscape personifications was the higher degree of anthropomorphism that obtained among the latter, at least in the classical period. For the Greeks, the mountain was usually the abode of a *numen*. The divinity proper was imagined to be an independent, fully fledged human figure. By contrast, for the Hittites and their contemporaries in Anatolia the mountain itself was the god.¹¹⁶ The distinction between *association* and *identification* accords well with overall tendencies on either side of the Aegean, even if personified Greek mountains do exist in Greece.¹¹⁷

That distinction has obvious implications for matters beyond personification, including, critically, the conceptualization of the nature/culture divide. One

salient difference between ancient Anatolian and ancient Greek conceptions of landscape concerns the seeming ontological permeability of landscape, men, and gods in Anatolia.¹¹⁸ Classicists interested in the matter have often turned to Cappadocia and specifically to a very brief, but well-known passage of the second-century AD rhetorician Maximus of Tyre that is part of a discussion concerning the nature of the gods among different peoples. Maximus's terse report about the Cappadocians says: "For the Cappadocians a mountain is god and oath and an ἄγαλμα [i.e., a representation]".¹¹⁹

Clearly mountains in Roman Cappadocia were imagined by locals to be more than landscape features. Some ancient Greek intellectuals, uncomfortable with the idea of mountain-people, dismissed ancient literary passages involving them as metaphorical. For example, when a scholiast was confronted with a passage of the *Iliad* where Homer says that Hector "rushed like a snowy mountain with a cry, and flew through the Trojans and their allies,"¹²⁰ he commented: "[the poet says this] because of the likeness in size [between Hector and the mountain]" and explicitly defended his reasoning: "for the mountain is immovable. Also, on account of the fact that his [i.e., Hector's] wildness and fierceness is like a mountain that has been covered in snow."¹²¹ There should be little doubt that some passages in Homer dealing with the landscapes of western Anatolia reflect local Anatolian understanding of how mountains (and other landscape features) could and did behave, even if later readers undermined these ideas.

Faced with non-Western landscape ontology, modern classicists have similarly dismissed the notion of mountain-people as the result of poetic license or, alternatively, explained them as traces of "primitive" religion. Among those who have favored the latter interpretation, Michael Clarke has been one of the most sympathetic to the Anatolian tradition, arguing:

What comes to the modern ear as an isolated piece of verbiage [i.e., textual references to personified mountains] is in fact an allusion to a complex and coherent structure of beliefs about the world, a structure that depends on the mutual dependence of myth and metaphor in a way that cannot be matched when working within our own language and cultural expectations.¹²²

Clarke insisted that the evidence for Anatolian mountain-people must be taken literally and pointed to the difficulty of dealing with this issue given linguistic and cultural limitations. Curiously, however, he explained literary references to Anatolian mountain-people as the vestiges of an ancient Anatolian *mentalité* that, through unexplained cultural tenacity, resurfaced at different times and periods on both sides of the Aegean. Rather than imagining mountain-people as a sort of cultural coccyx, I want to emphasize their continued social dynamism in Roman Anatolia by concentrating on one of the best known of such

beings: Mount Tmolus. Before doing so, however, let me address two difficult questions. How can “we” – i.e., modern Western archaeologists and historians specializing in the ancient Mediterranean – approach expressions of archaeophilia among people who understood some landscape features as living beings rather than as the inanimate ground on which life happens? And what do mountain-people have to do with archaeophilia?

The possibility of answering the first question depends, at least partly, on recognizing that seemingly basic and universal ontological distinctions (such as those between nature and culture, subject and object, animate and inanimate, mind and matter) were conceptualized differently in ancient Anatolia than they are in most of present-day America and Europe. That recognition may be less challenging than it appears at first. The self-evident nature of “our” worldview and, more specifically, the universality of the idea that landscape is inanimate, are a mirage. Even today, indigenous communities and ecologically minded people around the world maintain that mountains, rivers, and the more abstract “environment” should enjoy personhood and the benefit of laws that can protect them in a manner analogous to how laws protect people.¹²³ Variance in the understanding of natural features or the ontological status of the environment has profound implications for the study of how people other than modern archaeologists have explored and explained their own pasts in the landscape.

And this brings us to the second question. Ultimately, modern archaeological conceptions of what constitutes an authoritative index of *human* history may not yet be sufficiently capacious to account for how some of the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia interacted with those landscape features that they recognized as persons.¹²⁴ One obvious stumbling block is that for modern scholars, including many archaeologists and historians, mountains are the result primarily of *natural* geological metamorphoses in almost unimaginably remote times – even if they are also transformed by agriculture and other human practices such as pastoralism and, obviously, quarrying and mining. For many people in ancient Anatolia, however, some mountains were fundamentally and primarily cultural entities, not simply a natural backdrop. Mountain-people are relevant to the study of archaeophilia because they were living traces of the past, and in this respect analogous to ruins or the ossified remains of heroes. In some cases, those traces could and did continue to participate *actively* in cultural and historical debates in the present.¹²⁵ For some of the inhabitants of Anatolia, a few of those places were fully people.

Tmolus, Mountain-Person

Mount Tmolus (known in Turkish as Boz Dağ) rises to a height of about 2,150 meters immediately south of the city of Sardis. In addition to designating the

highest peak and the whole mountain range, “Tmolus” was also the name of a town, a river, and several mythological characters associated with Lydia’s remote past.¹²⁶ Arguably the most intriguing literary reference to Tmolus is found in Nicander’s *Theriaca*, a late Hellenistic didactic poem about poisonous animals characterized by intentional opacity. A passage in that poem transmits a local tradition that associated a mountain-person with one of the many earthen funerary mounds in Lydia.¹²⁷ The passage in question describes monuments at the head of the Cayster River and notes the existence of “the tombs of Tmolus and of Gyges.”¹²⁸

Gyges, of course, is the famous historical Lydian king.¹²⁹ But who is Tmolus? According to the first-century BC historian Nicolaus of Damascus, a certain Tmolus was the father of Tantalus, king of Mount Sipylus.¹³⁰ The mythographer Apollodorus mentions a different Tmolus who was king of Lydia prior to the establishment of the Heraclid dynasty; this Tmolus was Queen Omphale’s husband and bequeathed his throne to her upon his death.¹³¹ Pseudo-Plutarch relates a story about how a third Tmolus, son of Ares and Theogone, ravished the maiden Arsippe, devotee of Artemis, on a mountain that got its name from this event.¹³²

The intimate connections (and indeed messy blending) between mountains and rulers had unmistakable antecedents in Bronze Age Anatolia. Among the Hittites, those connections were embodied, for example, by King Tudhaliya IV who, not only shared his name with a mountain, but is also frequently represented with the figural attributes of a mountain and whose name in Anatolian hieroglyphs is in fact the sign for mountain.¹³³ Mention of a tomb of a (mount) Tmolus in Nicander is evidence of the interaction between local Lydian folklore and erudite culture, as occurred also with Nonnus’s treatment of the *balis*/“Flower of Zeus” discussed above. The passage of Nicander seems to reflect an attempt to rationalize the notion of a *mountain* who was king. The historicity of the mountain king was confirmed by those who cared about the matter by pointing to one of the many manmade “mountains” in Lydia: the archaic and classical period tumuli throughout the country.

Fully unaware of Lydian topography – let alone Anatolian mountain ontology – a tenth- or eleventh-century AD illustrator of Nicander’s *Theriaca* had obvious difficulties interpreting the relevant passage (Figure 3.23).¹³⁴ It is likely that this illustration was copied from originals that date from the late Roman period.¹³⁵ Incapable of deciding whether the characters mentioned by Nicander were people or landscape features, the illustrator made the robes of the figure on the left flow into a river and the rock on which the figure on the right rests turn into a mountain; he represented the tomb itself as a classicizing temple partly obscured by a mountainous blob. The drawing shows in visual form the ambivalence of a Late Antique or medieval reader of the poem, but



3.23 “Tomb of Lydian king” at the head of the Cayster River. From Paris Nicander, Bibliothèque nationale de France *Supplément grec* 247. (© Bibliothèque nationale de France.)

also conveys the limitations of a conception of landscape according to which people are absolutely distinct from mountains.

Entirely independently of these illustrations, there was uncertainty already in Roman Lydia over the natural or cultural origin of major local landscape features. Strabo, for example, knew of reports that the Gygaean Lake north of Sardis was anthropogenic.¹³⁶ There is no scientific evidence, however, that the lake is manmade.¹³⁷ This said, it is certain that Lydian kings did indeed claim intimate (perhaps even genetic) connections with the Gygaean Lake,



3.24 Altar of the tribe Tmolis from Sardis. (©Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

much as other people in ancient Lydia claimed similar connections with other local lakes.¹³⁸ Unsurprisingly, when confronted with the notion of Anatolian lake-people, ancient and modern Homeric commentators expressed analogous objections to those they had about mountain-persons.¹³⁹

Evidence of a different sort concerning the mountain-person Tmolus is furnished by a curious inscribed altar of late Hellenistic or early Roman date. That altar clues us into how some of the inhabitants of Sardis imagined their own connections to Tmolus and how these people may have participated in debates about archaeophilia in the city.¹⁴⁰ The altar was dedicated by the φυλή or tribe Tmolis (ΦΥΛΗ ΤΜΩΛΙΔΟΣ) (Figure 3.24).¹⁴¹ The naked personified mountain depicted on the monument makes it clear that the mountain – and not the nearby town of that same name – is what defined the identity of these people as a tribe. Much as those who belonged to the tribe of the Mermnads, some Sardians publicly celebrated their association with Mount Tmolus.¹⁴² A few named their children “Tmolus” outright.¹⁴³

Not everybody in Roman Lydia used archaic statues of lions and eagles – as the re-erectors of the Nannas Bakivalis monument had done¹⁴⁴ – to celebrate connections to the place’s deep history. As explained above, at least some



3.25 Tumuli in Bin Tepe, north of Sardis, Mount Tmolus; modern Boz Dağ in the background (photo by Crawford Greenewalt Jr.). (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

people interpreted one of the extant Lydian tumuli as a tomb of an ancestral mountain king. It is surprising and perhaps significant that Nicander located the tomb of Tmolus south of Sardis rather than associating it with the biggest and most famous of the Lydian tumuli, which are those found in the necropolis of Bin Tepe (or “Thousand Mounds”) north of the city (Figure 3.25). The three biggest of those tumuli had been famously connected to the Mermnads since Herodotus; archaeological evidence supports the notion that they are the earliest ones in the necropolis. Curiously, Nicander made connections between the tumuli along the Cayster River and earlier pre-Mermnad kings.¹⁴⁵ It is worth noting that most of the smaller tumuli in Lydia, including those on the Cayster River, date from the period of Persian (i.e., post-Mermnad) occupation of the region. Whatever the exact political implications (were archaeophiles claiming to know monuments that were older than those intimately associated with Sardis?), the people who lived in villages and farmhouses at the head of the Cayster River were perhaps more attuned than those in Sardis to how the remote Lydian past was embedded in the landscape, as opposed to in statues and inscriptions.¹⁴⁶

Apart from the tumuli, there was the mountain range of Tmolus itself looming over the city as well as the great lake north of it. Such landscape features were the continued sites of embodied performances that confirmed

the historicity of traditions according to which some mountains and lakes in the region behaved in a very human manner. How exactly did the inhabitants of Roman Lydia interact with their mountain- and lake-people? Curiously, music may have been one of the ways through which they communicated with their living traces of the past. Reeds in the Gygaean Lake, for example, were said literally to dance during feasts.¹⁴⁷ Although some ancient authors expressed skepticism about this natural wonder, others, including Varro, reported the phenomenon without qualification.¹⁴⁸ Varro himself had visited the lake and made a sacrifice there in the first century BC. He told not only of having seen sacred fish that would come to the shore at the sound of flutes and which nobody would cook, but also of “the islands of the Lydians” that he had seen dancing (χορευούσας) in the lake.

Music also connected the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia to their mountain-people. There is evidence from elsewhere in the peninsula that may provide further insight into human–mountain interaction. A third- or fourth-century AD rupestral inscription carved directly on a mountain rock called Topaktaş in Cilicia (which, admittedly, is far removed from Lydia) attests to the erection of an altar to an ὄρι ἐπήχῳ, which Robert Parker translates unambiguously as “hearing mountain.”¹⁴⁹

The notion of a mountain that listens brings to mind what is arguably the most famous report concerning Tmolus. According to Ovid, Mount Tmolus allegedly adjudicated a musical contest between the god Apollo and the satyr Pan; his fellow judge was the Phrygian king Midas. (See the cover image and the brief discussion of the relevant passage at the beginning of this book.)¹⁵⁰ However Ovid learned about the musical judge Tmolus, there is no doubt that people in Roman Anatolia continued to talk to mountains much as the Bronze Age inhabitants of the region had once done.

For scholars thinking about what the music-loving mountains and lakes meant to some of the inhabitants of Anatolia in the Roman period, it may be worth attending to similarly rich landscapes in cultural environments where some natural features were – and indeed still are – understood to be animate and agential. Archaeologists and anthropologists facing similar interpretive challenges elsewhere in the world have called attention to the risks of imposing modern Western ideas of materiality and temporality on ancient and more generally non-“Western” evidence. They have also noted the need to investigate alternative ontologies of landscape than those dominant in academic discourses in Europe and America today.¹⁵¹ This scholarship may offer insight into how to properly handle the material and textual evidence considered above. Anthropologists and archaeologists working in the Andes, for example, have explored the dissonance between European and Inca conceptions of ruins and more generally ancestral landscapes.¹⁵² They have

argued that only by attending to specifically Inca landscape ontology is it possible to elucidate the interactions between the Inca and those phenomena the Inca themselves recognized as historical indices of former times.¹⁵³ I am not suggesting that Anatolian and Inca landscape ontologies are equivalent. Rather, I am convinced that there is something to be gained by initiating a dialogue between Anatolianists and scholars working in cultural situations where some mountains also acted in “human” ways.

Readers may rightly ask, why should Anatolianists or classicists for that matter care about any of these developments in the current anthropology and archaeology of far-off regions of the world? The answer, I think, lies partly in the fact that the main contribution of those anthropologists and archaeologists involves the possibility of taking seriously ways of being that are radically different from those dominant in North America and Europe.¹⁵⁴ For those scholars who are skeptical about the alleged homogeneity of reality and suspect that a positivist, presentist bias tends to flatten out meaningful differences by making scholars dismiss evidence of such differences as misguided, primitive, or naïve, the so-called ontological turn in anthropology offers, if nothing else, a welcome reminder that human experience is diverse and that differences in that experience do not necessarily amount to incommensurability. One key difference in the possibility of noticing and examining alternative ontologies of landscape in modern and ancient environments is that some anthropologists have the possibility of asking people how one talks to mountains, whereas scholars working on periods other than the present do not have recourse to living informants. And yet, perhaps, we may still excavate through layers of text and matter to get a glimpse of Anatolian mountain- and lake-people in order to catch glimpses of how these entities impacted understandings of the past in Roman Anatolia.

CONCLUSIONS

One can assume – as has often been done by archaeologists and historians working on the classical Mediterranean – that the nature/culture divide is more or less the same for “us” (whoever is meant by this pronoun) as it was for the Tmolidae; we can dismiss the Hierapolitans’ notion that the mephitic gas was the spoor of a dragon; and we can insist that Craterus did not *really* make the Lake of Hotamış appear by dancing in front of the inscription of Hartapus. But if archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia thought any of this was actually the case, “we” should explore their relationship to the physical traces of their past in terms that those people found meaningful, and not in ours – or at least not exclusively in ours.

What constituted – and constitutes – an authoritative index of human history is not self-evident or universal, but socially and culturally constructed.

Inevitably, the identification of certain material remains as historically significant comes at the expense of other possible indices. The long-term history of what Alison Wylie calls “archaeologically usable facts”¹⁵⁵ and what Pausanias and some of his contemporaries called “signs” (σημεῖα) has not been simply one of accumulation; archaeophiles have also discarded, forgotten, avoided, and ignored physical traces of the past that had been previously considered valid, and obviously so, as well as the relationships between those traces and the interpreters who make sense of them. Many of the case studies discussed above confirm that in Roman Anatolia, bones, statues, and ruins were used repeatedly to explore and explain antiquity; so too were other indices of antiquity – indices that formed part of assemblages that do not look very much like those now considered academically authoritative or even reasonable.

Some of my readers will have noticed that my understanding of ancient assemblages resonates with some strands of contemporary archaeological and anthropological theory, according to which archaeologists should attend to a much more diverse range of data than those normally considered relevant by most scholars today. As explained by Julian Thomas, for example, “archaeological assemblages” may blur the distinction between nature and culture, incorporate animate and inanimate entities, and involve embodied and affective participation.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, in a programmatic call to reimagine all of archaeology, Yannis Hamilakis invites archaeologists to attend to “sensorial assemblages,” which he explains as complex entities that “may include many heterogeneous components, from humans to stones and monuments, to weather conditions, and sound waves, to mnemonic recollections.”¹⁵⁷

Although such theoretical proposals are relatively new in archaeology and anthropology, they are not wholly without precedent in human history. People in Roman Anatolia (and elsewhere in the world) made sense of the past by building and manipulating constructs that fit Thomas’s and Hamilakis’s descriptions. Since many of the seemingly basic and universal ontological distinctions that today’s theorists want to deconstruct are the product of Western modernity and capitalism, it should not be surprising that some of the assemblages employed by ancient archaeophiles seem like what those theorists propose modern archaeologists should attend to.

I am obviously not suggesting that Pausanias or his contemporaries preempted recent intellectual trends in archaeology and anthropology. Rather, I want to call attention to the fact that the seemingly novel holistic impulse of contemporary theories has deep historical roots, even if a totally different epistemological genealogy. Neither contemporary theorists nor disciplinary historians have been much interested in exploring these deep roots. By continuing to expose the diversity and sophistication of ancient archaeophilia, scholars of the Greek and Roman Mediterranean have much to contribute to the ongoing discussion of what the past has been and can yet be.

FOUR

HORIZONS

In the past, however, indigenous kings ruled over Asia, of whom neither notable deeds nor names are remembered. The first of those who have been handed over into our historical memory, Ninus, king of the Assyrians, accomplished great deeds.¹

The first-century BC historian Diodorus of Sicily knew of the existence of very ancient Asian kings. Even though he admits that he cannot say anything specific about them, it is noteworthy that he qualifies his limitation by explicitly stating that it holds true as far as concerns what has been “handed over into *our* historical memory.” Was Diodorus implying that there were other people who did indeed remember the names and deeds of indigenous kings before Ninus? Did Diodorus know that there were “historical memories” apart from the one that he considered his own? Did Greeks and Romans recognize that there were histories of ancient Asia other than Greek and Roman history?

My principal aim in this chapter is to shed light on the variety and complexity of memory horizons against which archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia made sense of the physical traces of the past in their midst. By memory horizons I mean the various contexts (e.g., historical, mythological, religious, scientific, etc.) that interpreters bring into focus when interacting with material remains of former times. All archaeophiles zoom in on specific contexts when interpreting or manipulating those traces of the past that they consider meaningful. Take the following example: when inspecting the fifteenth-century BC Anatolian hieroglyphic inscription “bizarrely built into the wall” of a Mamluk mosque in Aleppo ([Figure 4.1](#)),² three hypothetical academic interpreters may



4.1 Bronze Age Anatolian hieroglyphic inscription from Al-Qaiqan mosque, Aleppo, Syria. (Photo by Daniel Demeter.)

understand that stone in very different ways – even if they all recognize it as an informative remnant of bygone times. An ethnographer of religion may be interested primarily in what the men and women who continue to worship at that mosque think of the obsolete hieroglyphic characters on it; an archaeologist specializing in medieval Syria, by contrast, may want to focus only on the circumstances of the stone’s Mamluk reuse and wonder how that Bronze Age inscription relates, if it does at all, to other pre-Islamic spolia in contemporaneous Muslim places of worship; a professional geologist, in turn, may care less about the architectural life of the stone than about it as a small index of great geological transformations in remote times. These are distinct, if also potentially entangled, memory horizons.

Having examined thus far both who felt the urge to explore and explain the past in Roman Anatolia and what those people identified as its meaningful traces, I cast a light now on some of the many pasts that various archaeophiles brought into focus when interacting with Anatolian antiquities. I am interested specifically in the complex overlapping and intertwining of historical narratives involving what modern scholars describe as pre-classical material remains in the peninsula. In this chapter I look into the memory

horizons that were available to the contemporaries and near contemporaries of Pausanias. Classicists have carefully scrutinized how many Anatolian cities looked repeatedly to Rome and to pan-Hellenic figures when celebrating their own remote antiquity.³ Growing interest in local or micro-identities in the Roman East (and elsewhere), however, has also shed light on myriad other pasts that the inhabitants of the peninsula at the time chose to commemorate when dealing both with Rome and with each other.⁴ Some of those pasts are part of narratives that point towards Mesopotamia, Iran, the Levant, or the Caucasus. It should not come as a surprise, then, that semantic layering or entwining as well as conflicts and outright contradictions were intrinsic parts of archaeophilia in the peninsula.

I begin this chapter by discussing the entanglement of ancient and modern memory horizons in the city of Urfa and then I focus on three communities in different Anatolian towns and cities that used pre-classical antiquities to celebrate distinctly non-Mediterranean memory horizons: Asianics in Aphrodisias, Persians in Pontic Zela, and Jews in Sardis. I conclude with a discussion of the Christian reinterpretation of the physical traces of dragons in the Anatolian peninsula and with the curious case of a mountain-person that attests to the lasting relevance of pre-classical ontologies of landscape in Anatolia after the advent of Christianity.

CARP IN URFA: ABRAHAM, ABGARIS, ATARGATIS

The following passage by the essayist and novelist Elif Batuman captures the knotted mythological and historical narratives associated with the antiquities of the city of Urfa:

Urfa is in southeastern Anatolia, about thirty miles north of the Syrian border. Tens of thousands of people come here every year to visit a cave where Abraham may have been born and a fishpond marking the site of the pyre where he was almost burned up by Nimrod, except that God transformed the fire into water and the coals into fish. According to another local legend, God sent a swarm of mosquitos to torment Nimrod, and a mosquito flew up Nimrod's nose and started chewing on his brain. Nimrod ordered his men to beat his head with wooden mallets, shouting, "*Vur ha, vur ha!*" ("Hit me, hit me!"),⁵ and that's how his city came to be called Urfa. Urfa also has a Greek name, Edessa, under which it is enshrined in the Eastern Orthodox Church as the origin of perhaps the world's first icon: a handkerchief on which Jesus wiped his face, preserving his image. (Known as the Image of Edessa, the holy handkerchief was said to be a gift from Christ to King Abgar V, who was suffering from leprosy.) In 1984, Urfa was officially renamed Şanlıurfa – "glorious Urfa" – in honor of its resistance against the Allied Forces during the Turkish War of Independence. Most people still call it Urfa. The city's

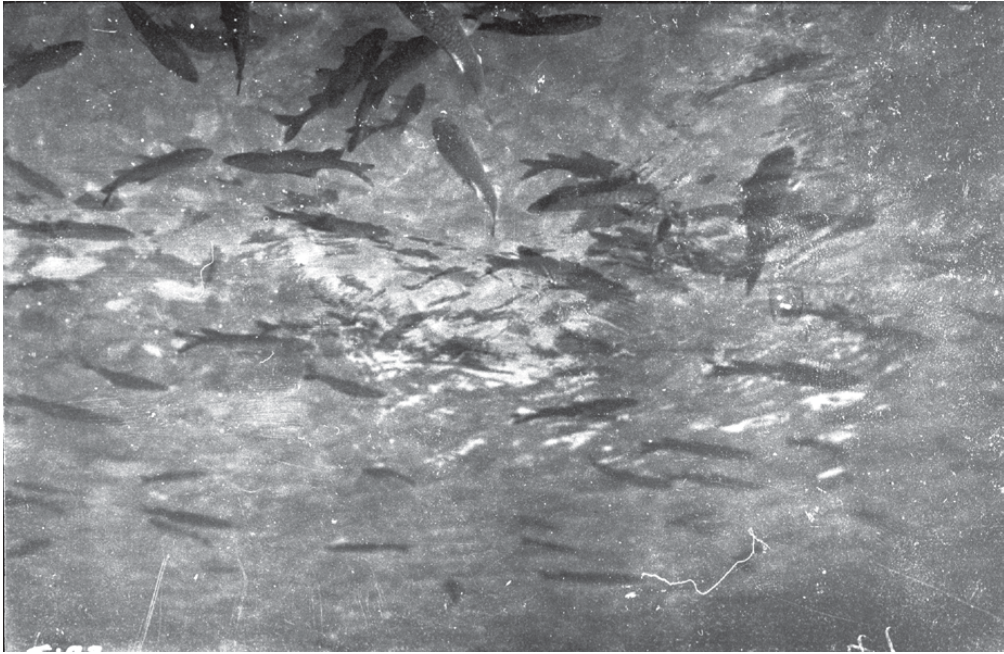


4.2 Urfa, view to the town from the citadel through standing columns of a third-century AD Roman palace, Wolfe Expedition, 1884. (Photographs of Asia Minor, #4776. Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library.)

religious sites also include the cave where Job is said to have suffered through his boils.⁶

Abraham (or rather Ibrahim, as the prophet and patriarch is known in Arabic and Turkish), Nimrod, Job, Jesus Christ, and King Abgar are only a few of the many protagonists of ancient tales whose physical remnants can still be seen in the city and sometimes also far beyond it (as in the case of the Image of Edessa).⁷ Vestiges of Urfa's many pasts include several caves, a fishpond, and two imposing standing columns on the city's acropolis.⁸ The seventeenth-century AD Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi took those columns to be part of the colossal war-engine that the rightful Abraham used against the godless Nimrod.⁹ The association of Roman columns with gargantuan military machinery is perhaps less surprising when one inspects a late nineteenth-century photograph in which the multi-drummed structures rise menacingly over the city in the background (Figure 4.2).

Many visitors since the Roman period – and arguably also before then – have been attracted to Urfa by the sacred carp that still swim in the monumental pool-complex today flanked by the Halil-Rahman and Rizvaniye mosques. It was those fish, and not either of the buildings associated with the pool, that Gertrude Bell chose to capture when she visited the city in 1911 (Figure 4.3). More recent visitors, including the distinguished Dutch-American Anatolianist



4.3 Urfa, Callihroe Spring (ancient Spring of Rohas), Pool of Abraham, filled with sacred carp (photo by Gertrude Bell). (Gertrude Bell Archive – Newcastle University T_198.)

Machteld Mellink (1917–2006), have followed Bell’s lead and photographed the carp without incorporating the surrounding architecture (Figure 4.4). These curious visual records demonstrate that modern antiquarians and archaeologists have been interested in local traditions according to which those carp too are living traces of the past. The similarities of the two images (e.g., the absence of architecture, the play of light and shadows on the water, etc.) are akin to what makes most touristic photographs of Hagia Sophia or of the Athenian acropolis almost indistinguishable from one another, except that in the photographs in Urfa living traces of the past – not ruined buildings – are organic proof of the continuity (or revival?) of religious traditions in the city over millennia.¹⁰

Curiously, even those carp can be understood against different memory horizons. Depending on whose story you follow, the fish should be associated either with Abraham (as evidence of the coals-into-fish miracle story) or with the first-century AD King Abgar V (as the remote descendants of the fish that once adorned his royal palace).¹¹ But there is more: when the second-century AD essayist Lucian of Samosata, a native of the region, described similar pools with sacred fish in the nearby city of Hierapolis (now Manbij in Syria), he had neither Abraham nor Abgar in mind. In fact, Lucian argues in his short treatise “On the Syrian Goddess” that the temple by which the sacred fish once swam was the work of the semi-mythical Assyrian queen Semiramis, and that the fish



4.4 Sacred carp, Urfa, 1982 (photo by Machteld Johanna Mellink). (Bryn Mawr College (MJM-04097).)

were associated with the Mesopotamian goddess Atargatis.¹² Lucian's description of domesticated bejeweled carp borders on the surreal:

There is a lake there, not far from the temple, in which they rear many kinds of fish. Some of them extremely large. These even have their own names and come when called. In my time there, one among them wore gold. On its fin was fastened a golden device: I often saw it, and it truly did wear the piece of jewelry.¹³

It would be rash to dismiss Lucian's account as fantasy. Since at least the Bronze Age, some fish in Anatolia have been considered sacred. Various ancient authorities speak not only of bejeweled fish, but also of fish that respond to human sounds elsewhere in the peninsula.¹⁴

For those interested in the physical traces of Urfa's past – animate and inanimate – the intermixing of monuments and memories in the city can be both fascinating and frustrating. According to Evliya, for example, Urfa was one of the oldest cities built after the Flood and thus of historical interest, but the overlapping of memory horizons caused him unease. Indeed, he attempted to sort out the city's knotted traditions, forcefully claiming that its proper name was not Urfa (as people in his own time called it and continue to call it today), but rather Rūḥā.¹⁵ That name may have been associated with “ruh,” whose semantic range covers “spirit,” “ghost,” and “breath” as in “breath of life.”¹⁶

Without expressing any exasperation about conflicting historical narratives, Gertrude Bell picked one among the various available memory horizons and paid little attention to others. In her archive at Newcastle University, the description accompanying her photograph of the carp associates the fish solely with Judeo-Islamic myth:

Urfa, Callirrhoe Spring (ancient Spring of Rohas) – Pool of Abraham – filled with sacred carp; according to legend, when Abraham was hurled from battlements by Nemrut into fire below, God commanded that the fire turn to water and the firewood to carp. The Pool itself with its mosque and cypress trees is one of the loveliest places I have seen in Turkey. I spent a long time there under the pretence of feeding the fish but really because after weary days of desert it was impossible to drag oneself away from the beauty of the clear water and trees and graceful towers.¹⁷

For whatever reason, Bell did not mention Lucian, Semiramis, or Atargatis when inscribing her photograph, although she probably knew of Lucian's alternative interpretation.¹⁸ Perhaps she was responding to the lasting relevance among the inhabitants of Urfa in the early twentieth century AD of the myth of Abraham, in contradistinction to "classical"/Mesopotamian narratives.

Batuman, by contrast, revels in the messy winding of historical and mythological narratives and topographical landmarks, indiscriminately listing characters and monuments associated with memory horizons that Batuman herself considers distinct. Interest in the tightly intertwined, sometimes contradictory explanations of the same physical traces of the past may seem eminently modern, but people in Roman Anatolia were also aware of such messiness. Occasionally, ancient archaeophiles insisted that one alternative was more authoritative or valuable than others, but they were very often content, like Batuman, in the sheer multiplicity of available memory horizons. Most knew, at any rate, that the selection of one horizon over another often had political, religious, and even financial consequences in their present.

ASIANICS IN APHRODISIAS

Aphrodisias, like many other cities in Roman Anatolia, played up its association with Rome as a means of currying imperial favor. One conspicuous way in which the Aphrodisians celebrated their connections to the emperors in the mid-third century AD was by inscribing an archive of epistolary correspondence between their city and Rome (Figure 4.5).¹⁹ This archive was a carefully selected record of several centuries in the history of the city and included correspondence from about the mid-first century BC to about the mid-third century AD.²⁰ The collection was inscribed and thus made public on one of the walls flanking an entrance to the city's theater. Local archivists – the



4.5 Archive wall, Aphrodisias. (New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.)

Aphrodisian counterparts of the anonymous keeper of the letter of Sarpedon and of Artemidorus of Nysa²¹ – would have been responsible for the curation of this imperial correspondence. The inscribed wall provided textual and material confirmation that Rome was all important in the life of this provincial Anatolian city, the patron deity of which, Aphrodite, was genetically related to Julius Caesar.

In a prominent position on that wall, a letter of Octavian confirmed his affection for one of the city's leading citizens: Gaius Iulius Zoilus.²² Zoilus had been a slave of Julius Caesar, freed by Octavian himself; he was also the city's main benefactor at the time the letter was written. The bonds between some Aphrodisians, such as Zoilus, and the Julio-Claudian emperors had been fast and intimate, but there were people who also looked elsewhere than to Rome when celebrating their city's early history.²³ Reliefs in the first-century AD basilica, for instance, commemorate a local past that was clearly different from the one the city shared with the Julio-Claudians. Some of those reliefs honor figures who were older not only than Aphrodisias, but even than Rome itself.²⁴

Among the city-founders memorialized in the basilica were Bellerophon (hero of the Trojan war and rider of the winged horse, Pegasus) and three semi-mythical royals of non-Mediterranean extraction: Queen Semiramis, King Ninus, and Gordis (Figures 4.6–4.7). The third of these was the eponymous founder of the city of Gordion in Phrygia; the first two were recognized by



4.6 Relief of Ninus from civil basilica, Aphrodisias. (New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.)



4.7 Relief of Gordis and Semiramis from civil basilica, Aphrodisias. (New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias.)

Greek and Roman historians as the founders of Nineveh in Mesopotamia. We know relatively little about the exact narratives accounting for the accomplishments of each of the three founders in western Anatolia, but an ancient tradition according to which Aphrodisias had once been called Ninoo should also be explained as part of a local impulse to rediscover and reinvent the city's very deep (i.e., pre-Roman) antiquity.²⁵

The basilica reliefs provide a glimpse into the origins of Aphrodisias as commemorated by some of the city's inhabitants during the first century AD. Those reliefs are a sculptural analogue to the verbal tales of origins that ambassadors from Anatolian cities are reported to have rehearsed when pleading for privileges from the Roman senate during the reign of Tiberius. According to Tacitus, the arguments of the Anatolian ambassadors were based

on “ancient myth and the favors of the various cities [of Anatolia] to the Roman people.”²⁶ The envoys’ claims interwove mythological and historical information. The Roman senate, in turn, examined “the pacts of allies and even the decrees of kings who had ruled before Rome had become powerful.”²⁷ It is clear from Tacitus that the senators found the ambassadors’ claims tedious and even facetious.²⁸ In fact, the senators do not seem to have been particularly interested in untangling the many strands of local Anatolian history, even if that untangling was of importance for the Anatolians.

The interweaving of multiple mythological and historical narratives happened not only in diplomatic speeches given in Rome, but also in the physical fabric of Aphrodisias. Ninus, Semiramis, and Gordis were famous non-Mediterranean heroes, rulers of ancient eastern empires. Valeria Sergueenkova and I have described them along with like characters such as Memnon and Sardanapallus as “Asianic” (partly because the adjective is less misleading than calling, for instance, Memnon “Ethiopian” or Sardanapallus “Assyrian”).²⁹ When visiting the Aphrodisias basilica in the first century AD, both locals and foreigners would have been aware that Ninus, alleged founder of the city, was among the earliest of Anatolian kings about whom there was any memory.

There would *also* have been people among the Aphrodisians who remembered their own ancestors’ protagonism in the founding of their city.³⁰ In fact, anybody who was literate could still read – on local funerary and civic inscriptions – about the accomplishments of actual men who, only a few generations earlier, had been celebrated as “founders of the fatherland.”³¹ Those texts commemorate leaders responsible for a σύνκτισις or “joint founding” of the city. As Chaniotis points out, the exact referent of the inscriptions is difficult to ascertain,³² but it is still worth asking: what did the descendants of the “joint founders” think of the basilica’s Asianic founder reliefs?

There may conceivably have been friction between those Aphrodisians who celebrated Asianic heroes in the basilica, and those intent on focusing on much more local and recent memory horizons. And yet, these were not necessarily mutually exclusive affiliations. Different historical narratives do not amount inevitably to incommensurability. Roman vs. Asianic memory horizons were not necessarily at odds. Chaniotis has suggested that rather than undermining previous claims about historical founders, the celebration of Asianic origins in first-century AD Aphrodisias may have served to place those historical founders on a par with their mythological predecessors.³³ The joint founders celebrated on civic and funerary inscriptions may thus have been understood as the latest in a succession of forefathers that dated back to the very beginning of Asianic history. In a relatively new town, the reliefs in the basilica may have been confirmation of a sort of local *translatio imperii* that could be traced back to the beginning of urbanism in Asia.

Whether or not there was friction between communities with different memory horizons, there were certainly physical facts on the ground variously supporting the individual narratives. Inscribed civic and funerary monuments commemorated the ancestors of living people as joint founders. But there were also signs (σημεῖα) associated with Ninus, Semiramis, and Gordis in and around the city: earthen mounds, ruined fortresses, and arguably even fragments of archaic ceramics and inscriptions in obsolete scripts confirmed the city's deep antiquity. The inhabitants of Aphrodisias who celebrated Ninus, Semiramis, and Gordis could thus see and handle – literally – proof of their city's distant Asianic origins.³⁴ Lucian's *On the Syrian Goddess* provides some insight into how local communities would have used ancient material remains to certify the deep antiquity of their institutions. According to Lucian, various people claimed that the temple of the goddess in Hierapolis (now Manbij) had been founded by Dionysus, Deucalion, or Semiramis. They pointed to *realia* to bolster their claims: in support of the notion that Dionysus had founded the temple, for instance, pilgrims were shown “barbarian costume and Indian stones and horns of Ivory which Dionysus brought from Aethiopia, and two extremely large phalli standing in the porchways bearing some such inscription as the following: ‘I Dionysus dedicated these phalli to my step-mother Hera.’”³⁵

In addition to being commemorated on the basilica reliefs, all three Asianic heroes had left conspicuous indices of their existence and their accomplishments in and around the city. The hill into which the theater of Aphrodisias had been carved in the first century BC was a prehistoric tell. As happened elsewhere in the peninsula (and as discussed further in the next section of this chapter), that tell would have been known in antiquity as a “mound of Semiramis.” The entire hill was an anthropogenic ruin packed with centuries of accumulated human detritus.³⁶ Recognizable traces of prehistoric human occupation would undoubtedly have been found when digging through the mound to make the theater. Within the city proper, inscriptions in local Anatolian scripts and languages, including a marble fragment with a short Lydian text, have been found by archaeologists discarded in Roman contexts.³⁷ Perhaps, as I suggested happened around the temple of Artemis at Sardis in [Chapter 2](#), those obsolete Lydian characters may have served as confirmation of specific historical narratives also in Aphrodisias. Outside the city, Aphrodisian archaeophiles could have pointed to the ruins of dozens of archaic and classical Lydian (or rather Lydianizing) funerary earthen mounds in the Morsynus River valley.³⁸ They could have called attention, for example, to the remains of several late classical fortresses or citadels that stand to this day in the nearby hills overlooking the city. In all likelihood, one of those fortresses was called Gordiouteichos (or Wall of Gordis) in antiquity ([Figure 4.8](#)).³⁹

Evidently, modern archaeological categorizations of the mounds, ruined fortresses, and other detritus do not align with the interpretations of



4.8 View of ruins of the fortress called Gordiouteichos (or Wall of Gordis) near Aphrodisias. (Courtesy of Christopher Ratte/Aphrodisias Regional Survey.)

archaeophiles in Roman Aphrodisias.⁴⁰ And yet, there should be no doubt that there were people in Aphrodisias who could and did collect and combine (at least in their minds) traces of the local past and made sense of those traces against memory horizons that do not correspond to those of modern history and archaeology. The prehistoric tell in Aphrodisias has nothing to do historically with Mesopotamian imperial expansion, nor can the late classical Carian fortress be explained as part of the building program of an early Iron Age Phrygian king. It is easy to note these incongruences and dismiss ancient explanations as naïve or erroneous, but our challenge is to try to understand rather how and why some of the inhabitants of Anatolia came to the conclusion that Asianic royals – mythological and semi-historical characters according to modern interpretations – had left actual traces of their former might in Aphrodisias and indeed throughout the entire Anatolian peninsula.

PERSIANISM IN PONTUS

Some incidents of archaeophilia attested in the province of Pontus during the early Roman Empire involved the celebration of specifically Persian memory horizons. Rolf Strootman and Miguel John Versluys would characterize those incidents as manifestations of Persianism, which they define loosely as “ideas

and associations revolving around Persia and appropriated in specific contexts for specific (socio-cultural or political) reasons.”⁴¹ In Pontus, various people had Persia on their minds when exploring and explaining the physical traces of the past in their midst.⁴² In this section, I examine first the interpretation of a great earthen mound (or rock outcropping) as a trace not just of Semiramis, but also of Persian rulers who had held sway over the region more recently than she had. Then I discuss a drunken carnival that may have been one of the ways in which a community on that mound celebrated, in embodied fashion, its own local memory horizons.

The Layered Mound at Zela

Signs of Semiramis were scattered not just in and around Aphrodisias, but throughout the Anatolian peninsula and beyond. As far as I know, no ancient archaeophile ever attempted to make an exhaustive tally of the queen’s traces in the region. Even without doing so, it would have been clear to many that her monuments were varied and ubiquitous. Strabo makes this much clear when he describes them:

apart from her works at Babylon, many others are also to be seen throughout almost the whole of that continent [i.e., Asia], I mean the mounds called the Mounds of Semiramis, and walls, and the construction of fortifications with aqueducts therein, and of reservoirs for drinking-water, and of ladder-like ascents of mountains, and of channels in rivers and lakes, and of roads and bridges.⁴³

Many ancient authors apart from Strabo adduce evidence of Semiramis’s industriousness throughout Asia.⁴⁴ Wherever a trace of the past was associated with her, however, there were also alternative memory horizons against which those traces were interpreted. In first-century AD Aphrodisias, the celebration of the queen as city-founder co-existed with a different narrative according to which direct ancestors of living Aphrodisians had been responsible for the founding of the city. Elsewhere in the peninsula, the story of Semiramis was entangled with those of various other people.

Zela (modern Zile) lies on a site which was occupied continuously from at least the Bronze Age through the Roman period. Over the course of the first millennium BC, several acts of monumental re-inscription were carried out by both foreign and local agents. Strabo records that after the Persians had won a surprise victory against the marauding Sacae in the sixth century BC,⁴⁵ they proceeded to transform the modest settlement at Zela using local material remains to promote their new political and religious regime:

filling up a certain rocky outcropping on the plain with earth and shaping it like a hill they built a wall on top and they founded the temple of

Anaitis and the gods who share her altar – Omanus and Anadatus, Persian deities – and they established an annual festival, the Sacaea, which even now those who live in Zela celebrate.⁴⁶

I will return to the Sacaea festival below. First, however, I want to focus on the hill or mound. Already in antiquity there was disagreement about the origins of the “rocky outcropping” on which the town of Zela had been built. The author of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* claimed that the feature was natural, even though it looked artificial.⁴⁷ Strabo, by contrast, asserted confidently that the town had been erected on a “mound of Semiramis.”⁴⁸ Evidently, Strabo was interested in cities founded on the mounds that the Asianic queen had built and, more generally in striated urban landscapes.⁴⁹ So too were the various rulers who transformed Zela over the centuries. In fact, the Persian construction of a temple of Anaitis on the “mound of Semiramis” at Zela is an example of the effective re-inscription of a landscape that was already charged with historical and religious significance for locals *before* the Persian incursion.

Precisely because the place remained meaningful as a religious landmark over the centuries, political and military monuments with rival meanings continued to be built on the mound up to Strabo’s own time. Strabo does not mention – though he must have known, given that he was a native of nearby Amasia – that many centuries after the Persian transformation of the “rocky outcropping,” two other conspicuous landscape monuments were erected on the plain. Those victory monuments engaged in open competition with previous interventions as well as with each other. First, Mithridates VI Eupator set up a trophy celebrating his crushing defeat of the Romans in 67 BC.⁵⁰ Then, twenty years later, Julius Caesar erected another giant trophy after avenging the Romans by defeating Mithridates’s son Pharnaces. Dio Cassius reports that Caesar, wishing not to be outdone, built his own monument specifically to overshadow (συνεσκιάζειν) the earlier one. Dio’s account is worth quoting for the light it throws on the competitive interaction between past and present:

[Julius Caesar] set up a victory monument opposite where Mithridates had raised his own trophy after his victory over Triarius. For Caesar did not dare raze the barbarian trophy since it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but with the erection of his own monument he overshadowed the one Mithridates had built and, in a way, even obliterated it.⁵¹

More than half a millennium after the Persians had buried whatever they had originally encountered at Zela,⁵² archaeophiles of various sorts could still use the layered traces of the past to stake their own imperial claims on the landscape. Recent conquerors derived clout from the material confirmation that, although other mighty rulers had preceded them, those former rulers had been superseded.



4.9 Coin of Zela (Pontus) minted under Caracalla, reverse;; monumental gate on a mound of giant boulders. Cabinet des Medailles, Bibliothèque nationale de France. (© Bibliothèque nationale de France.)



4.10 Coin of Zela (Pontus) minted under Caracalla, reverse: tetrastyle temple on a mound of giant boulders (AD 206/207). (Bernisches Historisches Museum.)

Curiously, the coins of Roman Zela celebrating this supersession of monuments suggest that there was local interest in visualizing and celebrating the transformations of the mound. Two issues from the reign of Caracalla depict monumental buildings, in one case a tetrastyle temple, in another a gate, each resting on massive foundations.⁵³ The people who minted these coins seem to have cared as much about the substructures of the buildings as about the buildings themselves (Figures 4.9–4.10). Although attention to local topography is not unusual in the coins of Roman Anatolia,⁵⁴ these issues seem to focus specifically on the layering of cultural interventions in Zela. Later rulers celebrated their authority, not by canceling, but by overshadowing the physical accomplishments of their predecessors. Perhaps it was only traveling archaeophiles, such as Strabo, who unequivocally associated the mound of Zela with Semiramis, but both locals and foreigners would have some awareness of stratigraphic sequencing, realizing that “it’s older because it’s under.” People

knew that a settlement had been there before Caesar and the Romans, before Mithridates VI and his Pontic dynasty, but also before the Persians – and perhaps even before Semiramis herself.

Dancing History

More interesting than the association of the earthen mound with Semiramis or the suggestion that local coins are evidence of pride in the tell's striations is what appears to be an instance of embodied archaeophilia in Zela. In order to examine this possibility, we must attend to the festival of the Sacaea mentioned in the passage of Strabo quoted above. According to Strabo, that festival was held annually in the city to commemorate the fact that the Persians had won their decisive victory over the Sacae by attacking them at the very moment that the Sacae were distracted with nightly celebrations and enjoying their booty.⁵⁵ This is how Strabo describes the Sacaea as it was celebrated in his own day:

and wherever there is a temple of this goddess [i.e., Anaitis], there the festival of the Sacaea, a kind of Bacchic festival, is the custom, at which men, dressed in the Scythian fashion, pass day and night drinking and playing wantonly with one another, and also with the women who drink with them.⁵⁶

In Strabo's telling, the Zelitans performed like the vanquished Sacae allegedly in order to celebrate a Persian military victory of old.⁵⁷ His intriguing report raises all manner of questions. What did Strabo mean when he said that the Zelitans dressed up "in Scythian fashion"? Did they wear exotic and archaic trousers and hats as they partied drunkenly with one another and with their women? What was the point of this carnival more than half a millennium after the defeat of the Sacae? Did Strabo actually know what the Zelitans were commemorating as they danced in their Sacae costumes?

Regardless of the festival's ultimate origin, its meaning among Strabo's contemporaries is what matters here.⁵⁸ We can only speculate about semantic specifics. One could argue that the Zelitans were a genuinely Persian community who were defiantly proud of the old Persian victory and their own Persian heritage. After all, the region of Pontus had long been under the imperial control of Persia. So, although the Zelitans were effectively Roman subjects, they obstinately held on to ancestral traditions and annually celebrated an actual Persian feast commemorating a historical Persian triumph.⁵⁹ One could also argue that the Romans, for their part, did not care about bizarre parties in far-flung Pontus and that they simply looked on disinterested as the barbarians revealed. Perhaps Roman visitors were dazzled by the costumes and reminded of the historical re-enactment spectacles that emperors from Augustus onwards

organized in Rome, pitting costumed “Persians” and “Greeks” against one another in mock sea-battles.⁶⁰

These different explanations could even be simultaneously possible. The festival in Zela may have been a way for locals to connect themselves to a prestigious past through communal celebrations, with the added perk that the Persian memory horizon at Zela had relevance for both locals and Romans on a regional and indeed transcontinental scale. Recent ethnographic examples of carnivals involving the embodied performance of historical events elsewhere in the world may illuminate the potential complexities and instabilities of the cultural affiliations of both performers and observers.⁶¹ The key point is this: just as some of the antiquities of Zela had clout and value in Rome and beyond *because* they were Persian, the costumed drinking and dancing may have been a way that the Zelitans showed to each other and to their visitors that their native town had been under Persian rule and was thus part of the history of empire in the region. During those celebrations, the Zelitans could have suggested that Zela had been a cultural capital and regional center under the Pontic kings – a position which, to judge from the archaeological and numismatic record, Zela had all but lost in the Roman period.

There had been, of course, Persians in Pontus, as well as much further west in Anatolia. The Black Sea region, however, had been under a different sort of Persian spell than, for example, Lydia. The Lydian capital, Sardis, had been a regional capital under the Achaemenids, but in the Hellenistic period, Persian influence had rapidly waned. By contrast, in Hellenistic and Roman Pontus, local rulers repeatedly and spectacularly sought to legitimize their power by asserting their intimate ties to the Persians. They pointedly and deliberately promoted rituals and language that were modeled on Achaemenid precedents.⁶² And yet, as Brian McGing has shown, the Achaemenid persona cultivated by someone like Mithridates VI was employed as part of a complex self-representation that also included Greek and Anatolian elements, reflecting the diversity of the people over whom he ruled as well as the multiple sources of political legitimacy he was interested in invoking publicly.⁶³ Thus, although one can argue that the Pontic and Cappadocian kings were in fact somehow connected to the Achaemenids, their Persianism was nonetheless only a single part of a complex and multi-layered identity that was often enacted in spectacular performances. This layering is analogous to the multiple claims to antiquity of the Anatolian ambassadors pleading before the Roman senate described briefly in the previous section.

The material aspect of these performances should not be overlooked. One of the best known of all performances of Persianism in Anatolia was witnessed by Pausanias in his homeland:

There is another marvel I know of, having seen it in Lydia; it is different from the horse of Phormis, but it also has something of the art of the

magi. The Lydians have sanctuaries of Artemis, surnamed Persian, in the city named Hierocaesarea and at Hypaepa. In each sanctuary is a chamber, and in the chamber are ashes upon an altar. But the color of these ashes is not the usual color of ashes. Entering the chamber, a *magus* piles dry wood upon the altar; he first places a tiara upon his head and then sings to some god or other an invocation in a foreign tongue unintelligible to Greeks, reciting the invocation from a book. So, it is without fire that the wood must catch, and bright flames dart from it.⁶⁴

The tiara, the ashes, and the book written in an unintelligible tongue are part of the material assemblage through which Hypaepa and Hierocaesarea's Persian past and present are made intelligible to spectators like Pausanias.⁶⁵ Which leads to a serious problem. I imagine that this case of embodied Persianism was the result of a deliberate choice of some Anatolian communities to physically enact their Persian identity in front of others, including Roman officials, who may have had their own completely independent reasons to be interested in remote local pasts. It is conceivable, then, that it was not the Zelitans who were behaving as archaeophiles during their carnival, but Strabo, the archaeophile and ethnographer, who interpreted their feast as being historically meaningful. The Persian victory at Zela could have been the memory horizon against which Strabo, rather than the Zelitans, chose to make sense of the Sacaea.

As I have argued above, a spectacular performances in the form of a vigorous leap or dance was central to the ritual that Craterus performed on Kızıldağ; similarly, athletic competitions were a key part of communal celebrations by the giant monolith in Fasıllar as well as of imperial activities in Troy.⁶⁶ Further evidence from Iberia, at the very opposite end of the Roman Empire, may shed light on the specific dimensions of embodied archaeophilia at Zela. As Andrew Johnston has recently explained, several inscriptions indicate that in the first and second centuries AD there was a college of Roman religious officials known as *Salii* in the town of Saguntum. In Rome, the original *Salii* (or “jumping priests”) dressed in archaic costumes, wielded archaic weapons, performed ancestral dances, and sang in Old Latin as they led ritual processions through important Roman landmarks. Johnston suggests that the ritual of the Saguntine *Salii* was aimed at the replication – in Iberia – of the most salient aspects of the ritual in Rome. He pinpoints the motivation as “influence of the antiquarian interest at Rome in the revival of traditional religious practices during the Augustan period.”⁶⁷

In Saguntum, local archaeophiles participated in an archaic Roman dance that celebrated the Roman past of their town. The Saguntine *Salii* are intriguing, to say the least. How exactly were they like their eponymous counterparts in Rome? Johnston explains:

It is ... difficult to discern how, on the one hand, any of these dramatic elements [i.e., the original performance of the Roman *Salii*] – so keyed

to monuments, topography, traditional knowledge and seasonal rhythms, of the imperial city – might have been rendered intelligible in the context of Saguntum, and on the other, why the priesthood should have been appropriated by the Saguntines at all.⁶⁸

I leave this matter to Iberian specialists. What I want to emphasize is that, as happened with the Sacaea in Zela, the dance in Saguntum must have involved traces of the past that demonstrated the antiquity and authority of the performance within that community: artifacts such as costumes, musical instruments, hairstyles, weapons, and critically, bodily movements. There are obvious differences in the festivals performed at Saguntum and Zela, and yet there are also commonalities. They both occurred at a time when spectacular performances and indeed re-performances of the past were happening throughout the Roman world. Archaeophilia was not just about encountering a rock-relief or a statue or a tumulus tomb and realizing that those things were old; it was also about remembering or figuring out how to remember, how to dress and do your hair, how to play instruments and wield weapons, and how to move and behave like others in the past had done. Dancing, hairstyles, and song are not usually considered “archaeological” traces, but, at least among some archaeophiles, they certainly were. One could argue that those dancing, hairstyles, and song are more often proof of continuing traditions, rather than a revival of ancient ones; but perhaps this is a projection of modern archaeological approaches on the hermeneutic strategies of ancient experts.

JEWISH LEONTOMANIA IN SARDIS

From Zela we return to Sardis. I suggested in my analysis of the Nannas Bakivalis monument that the archaeophiles who collected and displayed archaic Lydian *realia* near the temple of Artemis at Sardis may have been pagans reacting to an ever more Christianized environment in the city.⁶⁹ There is incontrovertible archaeological evidence from elsewhere in Sardis that demonstrates that people other than pagans redeployed Lydian material remains as a way of articulating their preferred version of local Anatolian or Lydian history. A strikingly sophisticated example of reuse of archaic statuary in Roman Sardis involves the conspicuous display of Lydian sculptures in the late Roman synagogue.⁷⁰

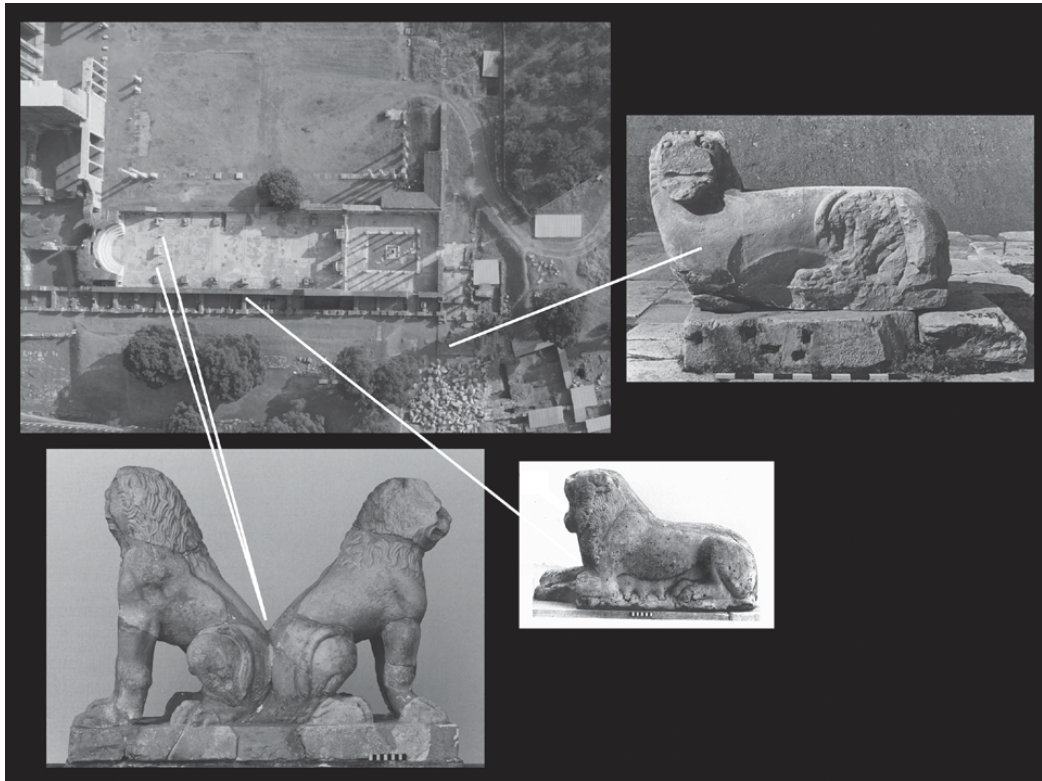
David Mitten and Aimée Scorziello have called that synagogue “a treasure trove of architectural blocks and pieces of sculptures from earlier centuries of the city’s history.”⁷¹ Mitten and Scorziello noted specifically that the building contains more reused Lydian material remains than any other single structure in Sardis. Some of the reused objects were intentionally defaced or completely incorporated into the synagogue’s fabric.⁷² Others were left exposed and visible to onlookers, without any apparent purpose.

The so-called synagogue inscription may be one such case of chance exposure: an inscribed rectangular architectural block, dating from between the sixth and the fourth centuries BC, built into one of the piers (s4) of the synagogue. The inscription is in a script resembling Lydian, and in an unknown but probably Indo-European language.⁷³ The exact content of the text was likely as mysterious to the people of Roman Sardis as it is to us today. Mitten and Scorziello argue that the fact that the characters were facing outward, and that there was no plaster or any other material covering them, suggests that the reuse of this block was of special significance.⁷⁴ While possible, it is difficult to see why the people who reused it would have chosen to place this block in a seemingly random pier. If the text was indeed meaningful, it is impossible to determine what, specifically, the Jews of Roman Sardis thought about it. In an ancient city where many different scripts had been used over the centuries, the importance of public writing on stone would not have escaped anyone's notice. Conceivably, the meaning of an inscription in a strange, but evidently ancient, script and language was less important than the fact that the signs could be filled with content a local community found appropriate to their situation. The Sardinian Jews would likely have known that the inscription was ancient; perhaps they also thought that the text was somehow relevant to their presence in the city.

Yet other archaic artifacts were conspicuously displayed in the synagogue. Before discussing those artifacts, however, it will be necessary to make a brief detour into the long and complex history of Jews in Lydia. Jews seem to have come to the region in the last decade of the third century BC as part of Antiochus III's relocation of two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia to Anatolia.⁷⁵ Josephus records a series of documents that show how the Jewish community at Sardis repeatedly called attention to the antiquity of their local presence and privileges. Ancient documents were part of the material matrix with which Jews confirmed their historical presence in Lydia. The Jews in Lydia, evidently, had their own archivists.

The documents mentioned by Josephus have sometimes been deemed suspect. I am not primarily concerned here with authenticity.⁷⁶ If not authentic, those texts would be similar to the letter of Sarpedon seen by Mucianus (Chapter 2) and even more so to the letters of Persian kings invoked by various Anatolian cities in their dealings with Rome (mentioned briefly above). At any rate, Sardinian Jews were clearly proud of their ancestral presence in Lydia and could present documents to support their claims. Josephus also records that in the first century AD, Lydian Jews demanded privileges from Rome, arguing that they had been living in the region "from the beginning."⁷⁷ Whatever this expression means, it would seem that the Jewish community at Sardis had political and fiscal motivations to use physical traces of the local past to substantiate their claims of antiquity.

What modern archaeologists call Lydian material remains were part of the traces of the past that attracted the attention of Jewish archaeophiles in



4.11 Aerial view of the synagogue at Sardis, indicating where statues of ancient Lydian lions were displayed. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College. Diagram by author.)

Lydia. In fact, Sardian Jews seemed to have suffered from a recurrence of the malady that Hanfmann first diagnosed in the Lydian contemporaries of Croesus: “leontomania.” Lions were found built into the synagogue’s foundations and carved on to its column capitals;⁷⁸ they were also incised on walls and were even displayed as prominent freestanding statues both outside and inside the synagogue (Figure 4.11). Furthermore, members of the Jewish community at Sardis had names such as Leo and Leontios.⁷⁹

As mentioned in Chapter 2 in my discussion of the Nannas Bakivalis monument, lions had been the paradigmatic emblem of Lydian royalty: a fierce lion mauling a bull adorned the Lydian capital’s famed coins, and the animal had also been a protagonist in the city’s mythological history. The archaic lions near and in the synagogue were perhaps meant to tap into those streams of memory. The largest and oldest of the Sardian sculptures, “easily the most impressive and monumental of all Lydian lions,” was found near the southeast corner of the synagogue (Figure 4.12).⁸⁰ This lion statue dating to 560–550 BC was perhaps intended to be part of a grand arch on one of the



4.12 Archaic Lydian lion re-erected at entrance to the synagogue, Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)



4.13 Back-to-back Lydian lions flanking the table in the synagogue where the Torah was read, Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

city's main streets. Archaic Lydian lions would greet not only passersby on the street, but also the Jewish congregation inside the synagogue.⁸¹ Two pairs of back-to-back marble lions flanked the lectern where the Torah was read (Figure 4.13).⁸² These animals – perhaps the only freestanding sculptures in the building – date from the late fifth or early fourth century BC and were a public monument commemorating the local community's connection to both Jewish and Lydian traditions.

The Sardinian Jews who redeployed the statues in the synagogue understood them not only as objects of prestige, but as objects of prestige that made sense against their own memory horizons. Louis Robert first suggested that the use of lions in the synagogue was an attempt by the Jewish community in Roman Sardis to proclaim a connection with the Tribe of Judah, which is described as a lion in the book of Genesis (49:9).⁸³ Marcus Rautman



4.14 “Graffito” of Daniel and the lions from the synagogue, Sardis. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

made a crucial contribution to understanding the reuse of lion sculptures by the Sardian Jews. After carefully inspecting hundreds of fragments of marble revetment from the Sardis synagogue, he found a hitherto unnoticed figural scene: confident lines outline the figure of a man holding a scroll surrounded by a group of lions (Figure 4.14).⁸⁴ Rautman identified the scene as the biblical story of Daniel, a righteous Babylonian Jew who incited the envy of the Persian king’s associates and, as a result, was cast into a den of ravenous lions. Instead of being devoured by the animals, Daniel was miraculously unharmed. The story of Daniel would have resonated with the Jewish community in Roman Sardis. Its members may have remembered that some of their distant ancestors had themselves been forced to migrate from Mesopotamia to Sardis. It was, at any rate, a story of religious steadfastness in a hybrid cultural environment.

Regardless of the exact association, the reuse of *Lydiaka* in the Sardis synagogue involves the simultaneous activation of what seem – from a modern perspective – to be independent narratives. The archaic statues confirmed the local antiquity of the community, while the incised drawing of the prophet Daniel reminded the congregation that lions were also a part of Jewish memory. By redeploying specifically Lydian lions, these archaeophiles in late Roman Sardis could look back simultaneously at twin memory horizons: Lydian and Jewish.

There is other evidence from elsewhere in Roman Anatolia of the simultaneous activation of Anatolian and Jewish myths. The best-known case involves a series of remarkable coins from the Phrygian city of Apamea that date from the first half of the third century AD. The coins depict Noah, his wife, a raven, and a dove in their famous ark. The tale of Noah would have resonated with the many ancient flood myths that were set in Phrygia, including at least one version of the Noah story that was set specifically in Apamea and not at Mount Ararat in the east.⁸⁵ The intertwining of Phrygian and biblical narratives is undeniable. Even so, it is difficult to specify precisely who the archaeophiles were who were reinterpreting Phrygian topography according to biblical mythology. Scholars have tended to assume that the coins in question are evidence of the local Jewish community's clout in third-century AD Apamea,⁸⁶ but Peter Thonemann has argued differently:

It is preferable to suppose that the introduction of the Noah myth to the Apameans, sometime in the course of the second century AD, was due, not to the city's Jews, but to its Christians. The adoption of the Noah story as part of the civic mythology of Apamea, at a time when that mythology was still predominantly pagan, is best interpreted as the result of a highly subtle and effective act of proselytism. Given the intensively competitive nature of local pagan mythologies in Roman Asia Minor, the claim that the city of Apamea held a uniquely important position in the religious geography of Christianity would have been a well-chosen piece of self-publicity by the advocates of the new religion.⁸⁷

In Phrygia and Lydia, as elsewhere in Anatolia, the advent of Christianity in the peninsula led to a forceful and radical reinterpretation of the physical traces of the past, including natural landscapes that had been seen as proof of remote mythical events involving early inhabitants of the region. Anatolian *naturalia* and *realia* were thus reimaged against a new and now universal memory horizon: biblical history could account for the entire material matrix in which people lived – and not just in Sardis or Apamea.

DRAGON SPOOR IN CHRISTIAN ANATOLIA

In [Chapter 3](#), I explored how people in Roman Sardis and Hierapolis interacted in embodied fashion with what they considered to be the traces of a frightful dragon that lived along the Hermus River valley. The traces of the dragon continued to be charged with meaning after the advent of Christianity in Anatolia. Several examples of the reinterpretation of pagan traces of the dragon against Christian memory horizons will shed light on the continued reinvention of ancient Anatolian landscapes as well as on the grounding of myth in *realia*, only some of which would be considered archaeologically meaningful evidence today.

Philip the Dragon-Slayer in Hierapolis

By the late first century AD, Christian heroes were turning the physical traces of the Anatolian past into mementos of a recent, but irreproachably pious antiquity. The third-century AD Christian historian Eusebius of Caesarea preserves a document that sheds light on the extent of the early Christian conquest of the topography and mythology of Anatolia. In the last decade of the second century AD, Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, wrote a letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, concerning the legitimacy of the Asiatic Quartodecimans, Christians who observed Easter on the fourteenth day of the month of Nisan, rather than keeping it on a Sunday as was done in the West. Polycrates, who considered himself a traditionalist, sketches out a reimagined landscape that legitimizes the Quartodeciman practice:

We observe [Easter] rigorously, neither adding nor subtracting ... for in Asia, great stars⁸⁸ are sleeping, which will rise on the day of the coming of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and seek his saints, Philip of the twelve Apostles who sleeps in Hierapolis and his two daughters ... and a third daughter ... who rests in Ephesus, where John too lies ... as well as Polycarp in Smyrna ... and Thraseas ...; Sagari in Laodicea ... and Papirius too ... as well as Melito the Eunuch ... in Sardis ... all awaiting [the moment] when he will rise from the dead; all these kept the fourteenth day of Easter according to the gospel.⁸⁹

The apostle Philip, the first of the “stars” of Polycrates’s Christian topography, was himself a celebrated dragon-slayer. Indeed, Philip had defeated “a great dragon, whose back was pitch black, whose belly was [made of] brazen coals in sparkles of fire, and whose body extended over a hundred cubits.”⁹⁰ The combat between Philip and his serpentine adversary had taken place precisely in Hierapolis, where the god Apollo had once been celebrated as Pythoktonos or “Python-killer.”⁹¹

In the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, Hierapolis was cryptically known as Ophiorhumos or Ophiorhume. Ian Rutherford translates the toponym as “Snake-town,” but perhaps what is meant is more specifically “Snake-stream,”⁹² with the *rhume* being the geothermal exhalation of water and gas that had been monumentalized in the Hierapolitan Plutonium. Philip claimed for himself the exploits and the power of Apollo. He was the dragon-slayer, while his daughters assumed the roles of prophetesses, the specialist function which had been originally performed by local priests known as Galli. Eventually the temple of Apollo was destroyed or dismantled to build a massive monument to Philip as well as other structures in the Christian city. And yet the deadly vapor and thermal waters continued to proclaim that – long ago in Hierapolis – a hero had killed a dragon.

When in the fifth century AD, Philip’s co-religionists erected a shrine to the martyr in order to celebrate the Christian conquest of Hierapolitan religious



4.15 Martyrium of Saint Philip, Hierapolis, view of the interior from the east pier. (Photo by William L. Macdonald. From William L. MacDonald Collection, Princeton University, Department of Art and Archaeology.)

landscape they reused blocks of the ancient oracle and placed the *martyrium* directly over a Roman necropolis (Figure 4.15). Paul Arthur has put it succinctly: “One might suggest that, in Christian times, the cult of St. Philip substituted the cult of Apollo Pythion at Hierapolis.”⁹³ These shifts – from pagan oracle to Christian church, from Apollo to Philip – would have had dissenters in the city, people who remembered differently or who insisted on interpreting the material traces of the past against traditional memory horizons.

Well into Late Antiquity, the noxious gases of the Plutonium continued to attract pagan archaeophiles. The ninth-century AD Constantinopolitan bishop Photius records that in the late fifth century AD, the physician Asclepiodotus thrice wrapped his face in a cloak and entered the mouth of the gas-spewing cave in Hierapolis. He was seeking to try out first-hand what the anaerobic eunuchs had experienced centuries before him. Asclepiodotus remarked that the entry of the cave led to a depth filled with waters, and that, while passage was forbidden to a mere mortal, someone who descended in the midst of frenzy would be led to the end.⁹⁴ An altered state of consciousness had been at the heart of religious experience for the eunuchs of the Plutonium when Strabo had visited Hierapolis in the first century BC. The geographer asserted that the ability of the Galli was the result of “divine providence, as happens in the case of those that are possessed.”⁹⁵ Alas, Asclepiodotus was kept from investigating the entire underground cave system by an impassable stream of hot water.



4.16 View of lava flow and volcano in the Katakekaumene (“Burnt Land”) near Uşak. (© Archaeological Exploration of Sardis/President and Fellows of Harvard College.)

Despite his failure, it is clear that long after Christianity had imposed itself on the peninsula, a Late Antique archaeophile was engaged in a performance of embodied archaeophilia through which he sought to experience directly the power of Hierapolis’s pagan past, even if he was not willing to risk his life to follow the spoor of the dragon.

Pionius in the Katakekaumene

In the nearby Katakekaumene (Figure 4.16), where some had found incontrovertible traces of a cataclysmic inferno, people were making sense of those traces against conflicting memory horizons. If the imaginary etiology of landscape that attributed the evidence of widespread combustion to a dragon served some to remember, it inspired others to prophesy. At about the time that the “Scorched Land” brought Tylon and Mas(d)nes to the minds of some in Roman Sardis, other communities in Lydia were using that very landscape to look forward instead of back. They understood the volcanoes and lava flows of the region as an ominous sign of what was in store for all humanity: a total, sudden, and fiery end.

At least one Christian invoked that volcanic landscape to substantiate an apocalyptic eschatology. The presbyter Pionius was arrested in Smyrna along with some fellow Christians “on the second day of the sixth month [of the

Smyranean calendar], on the anniversary of the day of the martyrdom of the blessed Polycarp, while the persecution of Decius was still going on.”⁹⁶ The martyrdom’s double chronology – appealing as it does to both a Christian and a civic time-reckoning system – is revealing of Pionius’s keen awareness that among his contemporaries there were significantly different memory horizons. On the day of his arrest, before the altar at the temple of Nemesis in Smyrna, Pionius announced that an “imminent trial by fire was to be effected by God, through his Word: Jesus Christ.” In assurance of the fulfillment of his prophecy, Pionius offered the evidence of the Katakekaumene: he first mentioned a land in Judea, on the far side of the River Jordan, “blackened by fire and still smoking” because of impiety; he also brought up the Dead Sea, “incapable of sustaining life;” but then he spoke directly to the personal experience of the Lydians in his audience saying: “these things I speak of are distant from you, and yet you yourselves see and travel through the land in Lydia burnt by fire ... and if even that is too distant, think of the thermal water [near Smyrna].”⁹⁷

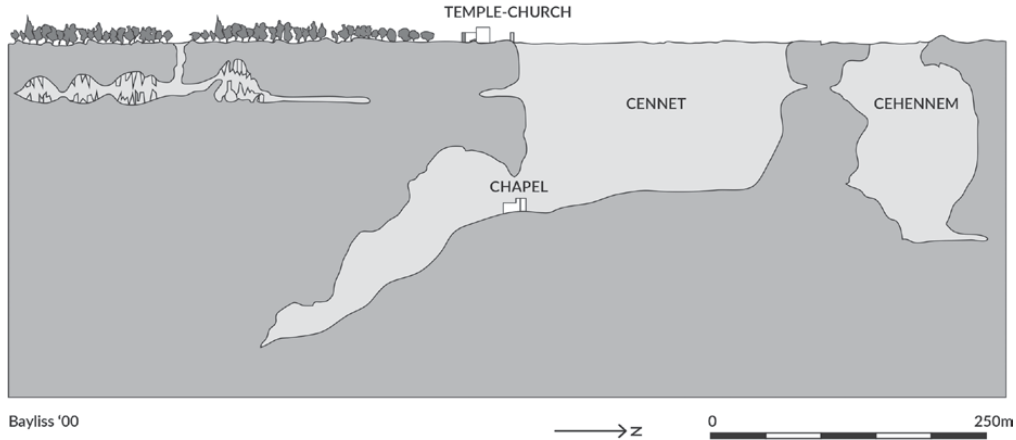
For Pionius, the Katakekaumene was primarily an omen. In asking his audience to use this natural landscape to look forward, he was also hoping to achieve a sort of time-switch, and indeed, an erasure, for many in the crowd would have believed that the “Scorched Land” was a sign of how things had been, not of how they would be. Pionius does not explicitly mention the dragon that gave “the land of Lydia burned by fire” its peculiar appearance, nor does he speak of Typhon or Damasen, much less of Tylon’s resuscitation through the use of a magic herb. And yet, the presbyter’s omission highlights what would have been the readiest association for his local audience. In fact, the received text of the martyrdom shows that dragons would have been foremost in the minds of those listening or reading. Immediately after Pionius’s mention of the “Scorched Land,” a copyist inserted references to “the gurgling fire of Aetna and Sicily, and Lycia besides, and the islands;”⁹⁸ all of these were locations where Typhon was imagined to lurk.

The presbyter Pionius did not want to remember Lydian dragons and their slayers; like other Christians in western Anatolia he preferred to think of the peculiar landscape of the “Scorched Land” as proof of an imminent apocalypse. While the Masdnians and the Alibilians in contemporary Roman Sardis may have conceived the “Scorched Land” as a landscape of memory that was triumphant proof of their ancestors’ exploits, Pionius of Smyrna and the prophets of heretic cults in Philadelphia were intent on using that same landscape to look forward in order to verify the imminence of the Christian day of judgment.

The Chapel of Saint Mary in the Corycian Cave

One of the most intriguing Christian reinterpretations of Anatolian landscapes associated with the dragon took place in Cilicia. A few kilometers south of the

THE CORYCIAN CAVE
NORTH-SOUTH SECTION
(AFTER HILD ET AL. 1984, FIG. 17)



4.17 A section of sinkhole showing the location of the chapel of Saint Mary, Corycus. (Courtesy of Richard Bayliss.)

city of Corycus there is a pair of karstic sinkholes formed by the collapse of a limestone shelf over an underground river. These caves, which lie near ancient Seleucia by Calycadnum (modern Silifke), are known in Turkish as “Cennet ve Cehennem,” or “Paradise and Hell.” The cave now called “Paradise” is the bigger of the two chasms at more than 200 meters long and 70 meters deep. Richard Bayliss has described it as “without doubt one of the most atmospheric and visually stunning places along Anatolia’s southern shore.”⁹⁹

Archaeological remains in the sinkhole are not abundant, but they provide insight into the memory horizons against which the local topography was interpreted by both pagan and Christian archaeophiles. An ancient staircase in “Paradise” led from the top of the sinkhole to the mouth of a cave, where eventually an unusual Christian structure was built (Figure 4.17). The chapel of St Mary is one of the many Christian edifices analyzed by Bayliss in his *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*. The exact dating of the chapel is controversial, but many scholars consider it originally a fourth-century AD building.¹⁰⁰ This modest structure was, surprisingly, hypaethral, that is to say wholly unroofed – one of the building’s several architectural eccentricities. Admittedly, it was partially protected from the elements by the natural overhang of the sinkhole. Since it was nearly 70 meters below ground level, it could benefit from all the sunlight it received precisely by being unroofed. But there were also less obvious reasons for this bold architectural gesture (Figure 4.18).

Saint Mary’s chapel was not the earliest monumental building in the sinkhole. Several previous structures had been erected at the mouth of the cave and it is likely, although not certain, that their fabric was used in the construction



4.18 The chapel of Saint Mary, Corycus. (Photo by the author.)

of the chapel. What is beyond doubt is that Saint Mary's chapel rests on an earlier monumental stepped platform – partly rock-cut, partly built up with polygonal masonry. This platform was the monumental foundation of a small temple of late Hellenistic or Roman date. Archaeologists have also detected traces of a Hellenistic ashlar wall, curiously blocking the mouth of the cave. Why the cave would need to be blocked deserves some explanation, for the ashlar and the rooflessness of the chapel are, I think, related – if also opposite – architectural gestures.

In order to understand the blockage and the hypaethral building, it is useful to remember that the Corycian Cave – as this landmark was known in Greek and Roman antiquity – had been hallowed for millennia.¹⁰¹ Roman authors writing about Cilicia knew as much. Here is the first-century AD geographer Pomponius Mela's description:

(72) Above the town is the so-called Corycian Cave, a cave of unique nature, too extraordinary to be easily describable. For in fact it gapes wide with a tremendous maw and makes an opening, right at the very top, into the mountain, which is located alongside the shore, and which is quite steep with a path of ten stades. Then, going down deeply – the more impressive the farther down it goes – the cave is alive with hanging

growth everywhere, and it is encircled completely by the shady embrace of its sides. The cave is so wonderful and beautiful that, at first sight, it boggles the minds of those who approach it, but it will not gratify them when they have steeled themselves to observe it better. (73). There is one descent into it, narrow, rough, a mile-and-a-half long, through lovely shadows and the shade of a forest that resonates with a tinge of rusticity, while streams continually flow from one direction or another. When the bottom is reached, again a second cave is opened up, but this one is now to be described for entirely other reasons. It terrifies those who enter with its miraculous roar of cymbals and the great uproar of things rustling around.¹⁰²

The second cave was thought to be the abode of the fearsome dragon that, despite being slain by a host of heroes, had lurked there for millennia. I am referring, once again, to a local incarnation of the monster known in Hittite as Illuyankas. Ancient authors, including poets from Pindar to Nonnus, specifically allude to this Cilician site as the lair of Typhon. The Dutch Hittitologist Philo Houwink ten Cate argued that the tale of the dragon as it is said to have taken place in Cilicia adheres more closely to its Hittite source than to other Greek and Roman interpretations staged elsewhere.¹⁰³ Christian writers also tapped into local dragon-slaying mythology, although somewhat indirectly: one of the devout biographers of Saint Thekla, for example, etymologizes the Cilician toponym Damalisandos, concluding that it is a portmanteau of the name Damalis and that of the hero/saint Sandal, founder of Tarsus and himself sometimes imagined as a dragon-slayer.¹⁰⁴

As far as I know, Bronze Age anthropogenic material remains have not yet been found in the cave. But there is no doubt that, as elsewhere in Anatolia, the story of the dragon was anchored in *realia*. A key piece of archaeological evidence from the Corycian Cave is an inscription detected on one of the cave walls commemorating the dedication of apotropaic statues to the gods Pan and Hermes.¹⁰⁵ Both of these characters played important roles in the mythological account of the monster's defeat in the Corycian Cave. In fact, the city of Corycus was known as the city of Hermes precisely for this reason and the god was frequently celebrated on the city's Roman coinage.¹⁰⁶ More significant even than the proper names is the fact that two gods – as opposed to one – were venerated in this cave. In the various retellings of the story – Hittite, Greek, and Latin – two characters are required for the slaying of the dragon.

To ask whether the chapel of Saint Mary is an example of religious continuity or discontinuity somehow misses the point: like the fish in Urfa with which I began this chapter, it is not one or the other exclusively, but rather both. The building, probably constructed in the fourth century AD, stands at the mouth of the cave not because Christian folklore has fully obliterated the dragon, but rather because the pagan monster – the Greek and Roman Typhon, the Hittite Illuyankas – still had some sort of cultural relevance in the

region. The chapel is at the edge between light and darkness; it stands exposed to the elements as an act of defiance against the beast and a token of power. A vivid narrative from the apocryphal gospel of Matthew concerning the life of Jesus as a child sheds some light on the symbolic position of the chapel and its deliberate rooflessness. The relevant passage, which was enormously popular in the Middle Ages, reads thus:

Having come to a certain cave, and wishing to rest in it, Mary dismounted from her beast, and sat down with the child Jesus in her lap... suddenly there came out of the cave many dragons; and [people] saw them they cried out in great terror. Then the child Jesus got down from his mother's lap and stood on his feet before the dragons; and the [dragons] worshipped Jesus and then departed.¹⁰⁷

This church is an embodiment of the dragon-taming power of Christianity. The chapel's power lies not in the complete annihilation of the dragon, but rather in its fearlessness in the face of an ancestral monster that still lurked in the cave. The dragon, in this case, did not have to be forgotten: it had become docile – or at least harmless – in the presence of the Christian god.

Jonah and the Vishap in Lake Van

An account of the biographies of dragons and their adversaries throughout Anatolia is well beyond the scope of this study. It is important to note, however, that these tales were not merely mental or literary constructs. They were always grounded in things: springs, lava flows, caves, and occasionally – as happened in Urfa – in living fish. Throughout the medieval period, Christians and Muslims in Anatolia variously coopted and reinvented local tales of dragons and their slayers in order to make them their own.¹⁰⁸ One remarkable example of such cooption and reinvention is attested on an island in Lake Van.

In the tenth century AD, Armenian Christians built a church on the island of Aght'amar (Turkish Akdamar).¹⁰⁹ The walls of the church of the Holy Cross are decorated with intricate reliefs depicting biblical scenes, including three that seem to illustrate passages from the book of Jonah. Those reliefs provide insight into a complex assemblage of anthropogenic and natural traces used by medieval archaeophiles to tie Armenian folklore to biblical history.

The relevant reliefs adorn the south façade of the church of the Holy Cross (Figure 4.19). Two of them illustrate frightful animals. In the first scene, the “whale” who swallows the prophet is represented as what seems like a hybrid beast with a dog- or bear-like head and a fish's tail and body. In the second scene, there is a monster that is different from that which swallowed Jonah; in addition to the traits just described, it also has paws and wings. Under this winged creature there is a naturalistic representation of a comparatively small fish. In the third scene, a naked – indeed totally hairless – Jonah rests on a tree.



4.19 Jonah reliefs from the south façade of the church of the Holy Cross on Akdamar. (Photo by the author.)

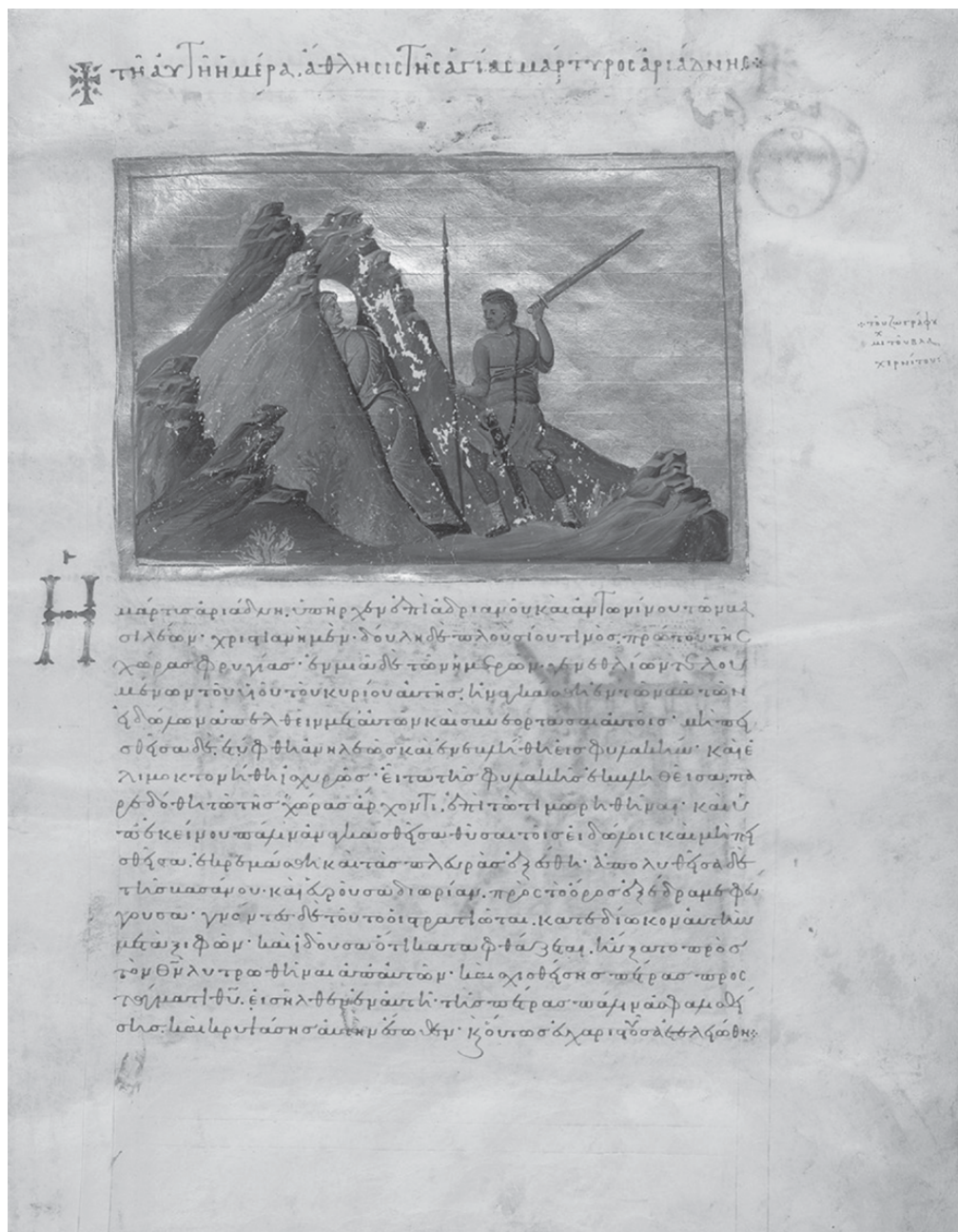
James Russell has elucidated the imagery by reading it against ancient Armenian dragon mythology.¹¹⁰ The paradigmatic Armenian dragon-slayer is the hero Vaghan who fights dragons, or, as they are known in Armenian, *vishaps*. *Vishap* is also the term used to designate a series of massive prehistoric monoliths found in the highlands of Armenia. These colossal menhirs, sometimes called “dragon-stones” in English, were often carved in the shape of fishes or as if pelts or skins were hanging from them.¹¹¹ Russell notes that in the Armenian Bible, Jonah’s marine antagonist, the κῆτος of the Septuagint, is termed *ketos*, but when it spits the prophet out, and only then, the monster is called *vishap dzkann* (or “*vishap* fish”).¹¹² Curiously, the “whale” that swallows Jonah on the first relief on the church of the Holy Cross looks rigid and very much like one of the prehistoric pisciform monoliths known as *vishaps*. The winged creature in the second scene should be interpreted not as a *vishap*, but rather as a *senmurv* or *simurgh*, the fabulous, benevolent bird of Iranian mythology. In Armenian and Kurdish folktales involving the *senmurv*, a *vishap* systematically eats that bird’s offspring until a young hero, who is trapped in the netherworld, kills the *vishap* and then goes to sleep under a tree. The *senmurv* then protects the hero from the sun by spreading its wings, returning him to the world of light.¹¹³

The reliefs on the church relate remote events that combine Judeo-Christian with ancient and medieval Armenian mythology. In the first scene, the *vishap* has not yet been conquered by Jonah. In the second, that *vishap* has effectively been rendered powerless; it is represented not by the *senmurv*, but rather by the naturalistic fish under it. That little fish is a depiction of the pearl mullet or “inci kefalı” (*Calchalburnus tarachi*), the only fish that lives in the very brackish waters of Lake Van.¹¹⁴ As occurred in the synagogue in Late Roman Sardis, in the reliefs on the church of the Holy Cross two seemingly distinct memory horizon are brought into focus: Caucasian and biblical. On Aght’amar Island both *realia* and *naturalia*, prehistoric menhirs and living fish, were mobilized to ground the story of Jonah the dragon-slayer in Armenia.

A CHRISTIAN MOUNTAIN-PERSON: SAINT ARIADNE OF PRYMNESSUS AND HER ANATOLIAN PREDECESSORS

My final case study in this chapter brings us back to the mountain-people of Anatolia, now reimagined by local Christian communities. There is a spectacular Byzantine manuscript that once belonged to the Byzantine emperor Basil II (AD 976–1025) now housed in the Vatican library (Ms. Vat. gr. 1613).¹¹⁵ Although called a *menologion*, or holy calendar of months, the manuscript is technically a *synaxarion*, a compilation of hagiographies arranged according to their anniversaries. The book contains a haunting illustration of a woman – clearly a saint as indicated by her halo – who seems to be walking into a rock or a mountain just as she is about to be struck by a man wielding a sword in his left hand and holding a spear in his right (Figure 4.20). The polychrome illustration is stunningly beautiful: the saint walks into a landscape of blue, green, and orange rocks and mountains that stand out against an implacably golden sky. The persecutor’s bright red tunic threatens bloodshed.

The image depicts an episode in the life of Saint Ariadne of Prymnessus, in Phrygia. Saint Ariadne’s biography was composed in the fourth century AD (or perhaps later) but refers to events that are said to have happened in the second century AD.¹¹⁶ In a nutshell, Ariadne was a Christian slave woman who refused to renounce her faith. On account of her refusal, the Roman governor of Phrygia condemned her to crucifixion, but the townspeople of Prymnessus interceded on her behalf and the governor granted Ariadne a temporary stay of execution. The woman took the opportunity to flee. The governor sent henchmen after her. As her persecutors drew ever nearer, she prayed to God for a means of escape and was saved by becoming one – literally fusing – with a local mountain. This was not just any mountain, but one of the mountains of Phrygia, famous throughout the Roman Empire for their high-quality marbles. Nothing was left for the woman’s frustrated followers to punish but the rags of what had been her clothes. In the *Life*, a series of other miraculous



4.20 "Mountification" of Saint Ariadne from Byzantine Menologion (Ms. Vat. gr. 1613), Vatican. (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.)

events follow, including the destruction by lightning of a nearby pagan temple. The entire population of Prynnessus promptly converted to Christianity.

Several details of this Christian myth are worth highlighting: first, while the *Life* of Ariadne is obviously a document of Christian propaganda, Ariadne's

metamorphosis resonates with some of the evidence examined in [Chapter 3](#) above. In ancient Anatolia – even after the advent of Christianity – the limits separating *some* mountains from men and women were more porous than usually understood by archaeologists and historians today. Second, the transgression of the apparently impermeable human–mountain divide is exactly what brought the people of Prymnessus together around the figure of Saint Ariadne. The community coalesced around the miraculous mountification of the saint. There is a strong likelihood that Ariadne’s Christian metamorphosis was, in a sense, grafted on to the stories of earlier Phrygian mountain-people.¹¹⁷ Again as discussed in [Chapter 3](#), the animacy and agency of some Anatolian mountains and the permeability between them and the human and divine realms are not to be understood metaphorically, but literally. Ariadne became the mountain, thereby suffusing the place with holiness. It was the Phrygian mountain that confirmed the power of the Christian saint, not the other way around. The illustration in the *synaxarion* is comparable to that depicting the tomb of Mount Tmolus in a Byzantine manuscript of Nicander’s *Theriaca* discussed above.¹¹⁸ In both cases, a post-classical reader and artist did his best to visualize a text that attested to peculiar ontologies of landscape in ancient Anatolia. In this case, the illustrator tried to take seriously the notion that the saint had turned into a mountain.

The province of Phrygia had long been the abode of Anatolian mountain-people. Rocks and mountains had been venerated as gods for millennia. The best known of all such beings may be the immense rock called Agdus. According to a version of the pagan myth of Agdus preserved in the writings of fourth-century AD Christian apologist Arnobius of Sicca, a hostile source, Agdus, a rock of prodigious size (*inauditae per omnia vastitatis petra*), was impregnated by a masturbating Zeus and bore the hermaphrodite Angdistis.¹¹⁹ Angdistis was a creature so full of energy that it cared for neither gods nor men and thought that there was nothing more powerful than itself.¹²⁰ Walter Burkert showed that the myth of the hermaphroditic Angdistis is connected to the Bronze Age Hurrian myth of Ullikummi, a genderless sentient rock, who had been born out of the god Kumarbi.¹²¹

As the coinage of various Phrygian towns attests, local mountains were frequently used as symbols in the celebrations of civic identity during the Roman period.¹²² To judge by issues from the town of Docimeium, one of those local mountains was celebrated as the grave or sanctuary of Angdistis. An inscription on the reverse identifies that mountain as an Angdisseion (ΑΝΓΔΙΣΣΗΟΝ).¹²³ As is well known, the territory around Docimeium was the source of a fine marble that became much sought-after in the Roman period. The place eventually became the site of a major imperial quarry. Indeed, in the words of Alfred Hirt, “Docimeian marble” was marketed as a brand.¹²⁴

The Phrygian mountains were exploited intensively to provide building material for prestigious architectural and sculptural projects (especially

sarcophagi) throughout the empire. We can only speculate about how the Roman Empire's quarrying activities impinged on or clashed with Phrygian religious traditions, and, more specifically, landscape ontologies. Phrygian mythology would suggest that the mountains of the region were more than just marble sources for the local population. At least some of the Romans who oversaw work in those quarries evidently were aware that the Phrygians considered a few of their mountains to be holy beings. Learned references by the poet Statius to the precious marble of Phrygia as speckled with the blood of Attis and to the cruel carving up of Synnada – the name of a town near the imperial quarries – are suggestive.¹²⁵

We may never know how the Phrygian quarrymen who hacked at those mountains understood their actions on behalf of the Romans. It is not inconceivable that they felt emotional connections to geological or mineral matter.¹²⁶ But did they think that violence was being done against their mountain-people by extracting stone from them at a scale that had been hitherto inconceivable? The Romans exploited the mountain as a colossal quarry, while the Phrygians may have felt that cutting up Agdistis was a form of cultural self-mutilation. If so, archaeophilia – the urge to find the human past in things, in this case in mountains – may have been an act of resistance. Perhaps the story of the evasive Ariadne who was mountified as she fled an intransigent governor continued local traditions of proud Phrygian mountain-people disobeying imperial power.

CONCLUSIONS

I conclude this chapter by addressing a widespread notion that has had long-lasting impact on the study of Greek and Roman period interactions with the pre-classical antiquities of Anatolia. A blunt formulation of this notion is found in an informative volume on the history of Greek and Roman travel in the peninsula: “Greek and Roman travelers paid virtually no attention to the material remains of other cultures, both from the Bronze Age, before the period of ‘Dark Ages’, and from the Iron Age.”¹²⁷ This charge of apathy is a geographically and chronologically focused expression of more generalized and tenacious claims according to which Greeks and Romans were much less interested in the *physical* traces of the past than in the vestiges of antiquity attested in language, religious practice, and civic institutions.¹²⁸

The diagnosis of pervasive indifference towards pre-classical material remains should be familiar to historians of travel and to classicists. It is parallel to the frequent reports made by ancient aristocratic traveling archeophiles who declared that there was no local interest in the past in regions they visited as agents of imperial expansion.¹²⁹ In fact, the charge of endemic forgetfulness is a recognizable part of the process of producing “people without history.”¹³⁰ At a practical level, it is an instance of a

culturally widespread practice of exclusion. Alleged local disinterest is then confirmed by scholars who acknowledged as valid the memory horizons *only* of the colonizer, dismissing the colonized's narratives as unsystematic, misinformed, erroneous, or nonexistent.

Classicists are not alone in detecting a total rupture in the cultural life of the peninsula severing the pre-classical civilizations of the region from their classical successors. Specialists in the Anatolian Bronze Age have spoken also of pervasive forgetfulness. As Trevor Bryce explains:

the Arzawa lands and kingdoms [i.e., the Bronze Age principalities of western Anatolia] appear to have sunk into oblivion at the end of the Bronze Age, along with the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Hatti. *There is not a trace of them in Greek texts, nor in any other post-Bronze Age documents.*¹³¹

His fellow historian of the ancient Near East, Horst Klengel, goes even further in describing the impact of the phenomenon:

Anatolian history is only scarcely reflected in the contemporary written traditions of other kingdoms, and it is not mentioned at all in later records, including those of Greek and Roman historians. Only the biblical tradition refers to the Hittites, but alluding to a population of early 1st-millennium Syria, not the Hittites of 2d-millennium Anatolia. *The Hittite empire had fully disappeared from historical memory until it was rediscovered about a century ago.*¹³²

The reasons for thinking that a cultural break was fulminating and that the resulting oblivion was total are various, but easy to pinpoint. They include the open or tacit heroization of European scholars as “rediscoverers” and “rescuers” of the ancient Near East, a stubborn overreliance on texts in the study of social memory in the classical Mediterranean, and a pervasive presentism that makes it difficult to imagine forms of exploring and explaining the past other than those of modern archaeology and history. The “(re)discovery” and “rescue” of, for instance, the Hittites, can take place only if one assumes that the past in general is inevitably receding and somehow out there, longingly waiting to be found, much like – according to now outdated historical narratives – the “Indians” of the Americas were lost until the arrival of Columbus. According to this “rediscovery” and “rescue” model, the rupture that cut off the civilizations of the Bronze Age from the inhabitants of classical and later periods in Anatolia was *only* repaired by outsiders, first by the decipherers of the Mesopotamian cuneiform script and later by modern European epigraphists, historians, and archaeologists. There is little room left in such accounts for the many sorts of Greek and Roman interactions with Hittite and other pre-classical material remains that occurred in Anatolia before the nineteenth century AD. Those interactions are deemed sporadic, accidental, and superficial – they are, as it were, pseudo-memories.

Admittedly, there is no explicit reference to the “Hittites” in Greek and Roman authors, although they are mentioned in the Bible.¹³³ Since the nineteenth century AD, however, some scholars have thought that the word Κήτριοι (Keteioi), used once in the *Odyssey* (II.518–21) to refer to some of the Trojans’ allies, must be a reflex of the Bronze Age name of the people called in English “Hittite.”¹³⁴ And yet, as soon as this hypothesis was advanced, powerful objections were leveled against it.¹³⁵ If we set aside texts for a moment and consider material evidence, two things become immediately apparent from the examples discussed in this chapter and throughout this book: first, that expecting ancient references to the Hittites is anachronistic; and second, that many sorts of pre-classical material remains did in fact repeatedly incite the interest of local archaeophiles in antiquity.

The accusation of cultural amnesia is particularly striking in the case of Anatolian rock-cut monuments, given that there is abundant archaeological and sometimes even epigraphic evidence of classical period interaction with nearly all of them.¹³⁶ Those specific monuments mattered to various people in Greek and Roman Anatolia not because they were “Hittite” or “Neo-Assyrian” or “Uartian,” but rather because, on Mount Sipylus, for example, they were the “signs” (σημεῖα) of Tantalus and his progeny (Chapter 3) and on Uzunoğlan Tepe, because they were monuments to Zeus Ceuranius (Chapter 2). Similarly, pre-classical earthen mounds mattered because they were the “signs” of founders, heroes, and rulers. In Roman Aphrodisias, the prehistoric mound into which the theater had been built indexed Queen Semiramis, as did similar topographical features in Roman Zela, and arguably also Iron Age monuments in the vicinity of Antioch; in Roman Troy, natural and artificial hills brought to mind Hector and Ajax (Chapter 2); in Roman Lydia, pre-classical tumuli were thought to commemorate Gyges and Tmolus (Chapter 3). Archaic Lydian statues mattered among Jews in Roman Sardis because they were associated with the prophet Daniel. There was even a mountain-person in early Christian Phrygia that was thought to be the “mountainified” Saint Ariadne.

Susan Alcock has aptly described the mnemonic heterogeneity of the Roman East as kaleidoscopic:¹³⁷

You can peer back, with whatever bits and pieces of evidence you have at your command, and perceive a variegated and fractured view of what was remembered and what forgotten. Change time period, change audience, change perspective, change data sets – and patterns tremble and shift, in ways you can’t predict. And radical interventions, by actors in the past or present, can prove vertiginous and overwhelming.

The memory horizons of the inhabitants of Roman Anatolia were indeed diverse and complex. By necessity, they must be analyzed by transgressing not

only the modern periodizations that have defined the study of the peninsula in antiquity, but also the confines of any single narrowly conceived modern academic discipline (whether it be classical archaeology, Hittite philology, or Christian art history). If we look for the Hittites in Roman Anatolia, we won't find them, any more than we would find Strabo speaking of Wild Goat style ceramic decoration. The category is a modern academic invention. As explained in [Chapter 5](#) below, Strabo's *Necrocorinthia* is not what archaeologists today understand by that term. Even so, we do have bits and pieces of evidence at our disposal – mounds, caves, statues, lakes, fish. Sometimes they are enough to see bits and pieces of the broken kaleidoscope, even if we cannot put it back together.

FIVE

BEYOND ANATOLIA

The past is everywhere. All around us lie features with more or less familiar antecedents. Relics, histories, memories suffuse human experience. Most past traces ultimately perish, and all that remain are altered. But they are collectively enduring. Noticed or ignored, cherished or spurned, the past is omnipresent.¹

The opening lines of David Lowenthal's *The Past is a Foreign Country* describe the ubiquity of the past in twentieth-century AD Europe and North America. They are relevant here because – as I have shown above – the past was also everywhere in Roman Anatolia. Thus far, I have concentrated exclusively on Anatolia for three main reasons: the region's key geopolitical importance since the Bronze Age, the intertwined histories of Rome and Anatolia,² and the conflicting and sometimes self-contradictory ways in which early modern and modern interpreters (including scholars, politicians, and the inhabitants of the region) have variously explained parts of the peninsula's pre-classical material legacy as belonging to Greek, Turkish, Mediterranean, and/or Near Eastern history – among many other possible memory horizons.³

This book has so far illuminated the urge that incited people to identify, manipulate, and interpret the physical traces of the past *in Anatolia*. It is important to emphasize, however, that relics, histories, and memories suffused human experience throughout the Roman world. Archaeophilia was not a uniform phenomenon in the ancient Mediterranean, nor has it been anywhere, at any time. Whenever and wherever an ancient archaeophile has made sense of the past, various historical traditions and indeed systems of thought

have come into contact. When Mucianus, for instance, visited the ancient sanctuaries of Roman Asia or Pausanias visited those of Roman Greece, each of them was in dialogue not only with a long literary tradition and with his own living peers, but also with the temple wardens who showed those men around the sanctuaries they visited and explained what was in front of them. The dynamics of those encounters varied, not least according to where they happened: meeting religious officials at Delos in Greece or in Egyptian Thebes was different than meeting comparable local specialists in Roman Petra in Jordan or Roman Gades in Spain.

Thus, modern scholars interested in studying the intensity and pervasiveness of Roman archaeophilia must at times zoom in on and elucidate local details in specific times and places, and at other times look out far away in order to expound more general dynamics. I have structured this book above using the categories *interpreters*, *traces*, and *horizons* – since all three are involved in every instance of archaeophilia, they enable comparative analysis. The questions “who cared about the intersection between past time and present matter?”, “what was considered an authoritative material index of human history?”, and “how were such indices explained?” can be asked anywhere that scholars have explored – and continue to explore – the past as it is found in things. Although my three structuring analytical terms designate relatively distinct categories, they are also interrelated and mutually constitutive: one becomes an interpreter by recognizing a trace of the past as meaningful; that trace is understood as an authoritative index only against a specific memory horizon; a favored horizon informs and restricts an interpreter’s interaction with whatever is around him or her.⁴

In this final chapter, I move away from the Anatolian peninsula and structure my case studies in groupings that shed light on social processes of interpretation that are attested not only in Anatolia, but also in rest of the Roman world. My aim is to contextualize archaeophilia in Anatolia as part of a Roman cultural phenomenon that is evidenced from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Indian Ocean. I have chosen examples that are complementary to those examined above and cast the Anatolian evidence into high contrast. Some of the incidents discussed in this chapter occurred in remote and virtually unknown places from a Mediterranean perspective (e.g., India and Azerbaijan), others in territories that have been at the heart of scholarship on social memory in antiquity (e.g., Greece and Egypt).⁵

In the first section of this chapter, I reflect on the entangled discourses of local and foreign archaeophiles. I use three ancient travel narratives from across the Roman world to call attention to the key roles of local interpreters in the manipulation and interpretation of the physical traces of the past. Specifically, I highlight the sidelining and silencing of local participants – a characteristic of much expert archaeophilia not only in Roman antiquity,

but also in the early modern and modern periods – as well as the active role played by local participants in determining how foreign archaeophiles interacted with antiquities in their homeland. I briefly discuss fakes and souvenirs as indices of the dynamics of interaction and the possibility that the same artifacts would have been understood against different memory horizons by interpreters in contact. From the perspective of a European or American classicist, the three examples in this section are arranged from most to least familiar: I begin with a famous Roman intellectual at a tomb in Sicily, proceed to a learned politician's description of votive offerings in a temple in Colchis on the Black Sea, and end with a merchant from Roman Egypt conversing about local ruins with his hypothetical trading partners on the western coast of India.

In the second section, I use a combination of epigraphic, literary, and archaeological sources to examine expert senses, and more specifically, the archaeophiles' urge to experience material remains through senses other than sight. I am particularly interested in the use of the body as the ultimate source of authority about the traces of the past. More generally, I want to shed light on material connoisseurship in antiquity – an under-investigated topic. I focus on Roman period interest in both auditory and olfactory signals as sensible indices of former times. First, I discuss an aristocratic Roman woman's experience at the Colossus of Memnon in Thebes (Egypt), and then I focus on various interpreters (both experts and amateurs) who could authenticate valuable antiquities and/or recognize historically meaningful sites through smell in Roman Italy and Greece.

Finally, in the third part, I marshal archaeological and epigraphic evidence to advocate for the possibility of attending to pasts whose specific semantics are beyond our reach. I study two cases of Roman period interest in the pre-classical antiquities of Iberia and conclude by discussing the carvings of a Roman centurion next to thousands of prehistoric petroglyphs on the shores of the Caspian Sea. Although I cannot provide much by way of specifics on the various pasts available to ancient interpreters in Roman Iberia or Azerbaijan, I argue that there are enough clues to suggest that these too are instances of the urge to explore and explain the human past as evidenced in material remains.

ENTANGLED DISCOURSES

Cicero and the Tomb of Archimedes in Sicily

I begin with a paradigmatic incident of Roman archaeophilia – or, more precisely, with two versions of that incident, juxtaposing an ancient literary account of the “rediscovery” and “rescue” of a famous tomb with an early modern painting that depicts that occasion. This juxtaposition highlights both

the participation of local interpreters in the processes of identifying, manipulating, and interpreting the physical traces of the past and the deliberate obfuscation of their involvement by foreign archaeophiles.

In 75 BC, when the Roman politician Cicero was in Sicily supervising the financial affairs of the island, he sought and found what he knew to be an ancient monument of historical importance: the tomb of the Greek polymath Archimedes (ca. 287–212 BC), who had died well over a century earlier during a Roman siege of the city. Cicero's account of the event shows how a Roman aristocrat – indeed an expert archaeophile – portrayed his own role in the recognition and revelation of what he considered to be a valuable historical monument outside of Rome:

When I was *quaestor*, I explored his [i.e., Archimedes's] tomb – which the Syracusans did not know about, since they absolutely denied its existence – enclosed on every side and covered in thickets and bushes. I had memorized some verses, which I had reason to believe had been inscribed on his monument and which said that on top of it a sphere had been placed along with a cylinder. As I surveyed everything with my eyes – for at the gates to Agrigento there is a great quantity of tombs – I noticed a little column barely emerging from the thickets, in which were engraved the drawings of a sphere and a cylinder. So, I immediately told the Syracusans – since the leaders of the city were by my side – that I thought that *that* was what I was seeking. Many men were sent to clean and open the place with sickles. And when the entrance was made clear, we entered and faced a pedestal. An epigram became apparent, with the final parts of the verses rubbed out, almost half destroyed. Thus, the most noble of Greek cities, once also the most erudite, would not have known about the monument of its most famous citizen, if it were not because a man from Arpinum had shown them.⁶

In the early nineteenth-century AD, the American artist Benjamin West (AD 1738–1820) depicted “Cicero's Discovery of the Tomb of Archimedes” (Figure 5.1). In West's painting, smoke from Mount Aetna billows under clouds in the distance, while a neoclassical city stands orderly and proud in the hazy middle ground. At the front of the scene is a motley group of people amid tombs and sundry funerary monuments. Cicero himself is at the right, conspicuously illuminated, gleaming in a toga. He is dressed entirely in white, enthusiastically explaining to the Syracusans what he has found. One can almost hear Cicero dismissing or ignoring the authority of interpretations other than his own: what would the Syracusans – who, by his own account, had let “the most noble of Greek cities” fall into disarray – know about the local past?

Although West portrayed Cicero as the statesman himself would have liked to be painted – in full epideictic glory – his painting also clues viewers into



5.1 Benjamin West, "Cicero Discovering the Tomb of Archimedes" AD 1804. (Yale University Art Gallery 1963.49.)

local participation. The Syracusan leaders next to Cicero appear entranced. Most recede in awe. One of them, at the back of the group, also dressed partly in white, exerts himself to make out the geometric volumes at the top of the tomb: a sphere crowns a cylinder which rests upon a sarcophagus. West painted no text on the tomb, yet a recessed rectangle on the sarcophagus hints at the presence of an inscription.⁷ At the bottom-right corner of the scene, two muscular half-naked men contorting in Laocoön-like postures battle with their bare hands against the serpentine thickets and bushes that have kept the tomb of Archimedes from the Syracusans; a third man in the back vigorously wields a sickle. The crowd on the left looks on with indifference and, presumably, total ignorance. They are peasants, women, children, and soldiers.

However anachronistically (note that two of the leading men in the painting appear like biblical prophets as imagined by Renaissance artists), West emphasizes a key feature of Roman archaeophilia that is easy to overlook in Cicero's shamelessly egotistical account: the physical traces of the past were lively contact zones where multiple interpreters came together despite profound cultural, political and financial asymmetries⁸ In Roman Syracuse as elsewhere in the Roman world, those asymmetries determined not simply different degrees of access to antiquities, but also the specific assemblages that

a Roman as opposed to a Syracusan (or a philosopher as opposed to a horse-groom, or a man as opposed to a woman) would have used to explain material remnants of former times. Even so, local and foreign discourses were not simply in contact, they were inevitably entangled.

How did Cicero manage to “rediscover” and “rescue” the tomb of Archimedes? A text committed to memory allowed him – in spite of being a foreigner, or rather precisely because he was one – to prove that an allegedly lost ruin was indeed the monument he surmised it to be. Cicero relates the event as a matter of strict binary oppositions, pitting his archaeological, literary, and epigraphic erudition against the Syracusans’ lack of knowledge; his respect for what modern government officials might call “a site of cultural heritage” against the indifference of the islanders; his singular and definitive rescue of the tomb against local oblivion.⁹ Adopting a position that is recognizable in the narratives of many early modern European travelers – not to mention, contemporary archaeologists – Cicero reduces the Syracusans’ participation to clean-up operations and to their acknowledging his own academic superiority. It is in fact against a passage such as this one that Lucan’s description of the encounter at Troy ([Chapter 2](#)) defies expectations.

And yet, the historicity of Cicero’s narrative is deeply suspect. The effort to rescue a local Syracusan monument from Sicilian neglect must have involved many and diverse people – people whose opinions are much harder for scholars to access today than Cicero’s own. What role did the islanders play in the “discovery” and “rescue” of the tomb? As Cicero records and West illustrates, local people of various sorts were present along with the orator at the tomb; in fact, some of those people were ultimately responsible for exposing the monument. The entire incident is analogous to the encounter between Pausanias and the Lydian archaeophiles in Temenothyrae ([Chapter 2](#)). Had no one on the island ever seen the geometric volumes sticking out from the shrubs? Did no one know the epigram that secured the identity of the monument? Was there really no memory of the tomb of Archimedes in Roman Syracuse? The glaring absence of Syracusan archaeophiles in Cicero’s account is the direct result of his characteristic self-centeredness, and, more generally, of that of many expert archaeophiles in the Roman period.

Cicero describes the event through a particularly colonialist lens: just as the Greek Archimedes had been killed by a foolish Roman,¹⁰ the memory of Archimedes was to be “discovered” and “rescued” by a learned one. Cicero’s perspectives and practices resonate strongly with those of later antiquarians.¹¹ The tropes of discovery and rescue, for example, are common in the narratives of expert archaeophiles in early modern Europe, including, in fact, that of Benjamin West himself. Just as Cicero in the first century BC had found and saved the tomb of Archimedes from oblivion, the American West thought he was rediscovering and rescuing the painting techniques of Titian and his long-deceased contemporaries.

In fact, West extolled his painting as proof that he had rediscovered and rescued ancient knowledge that had been lost to nineteenth-century AD Europeans. Even the Venetians, who could actually inspect Titian's originals, did not know where and how to learn from what they had in front of them.¹²

Early modern antiquarians other than West saw themselves reflected in the literary narratives of a few Roman expert archaeophiles. Partly as a result of this identification, those antiquarians became interested specifically in traces of the past that intellectuals like Cicero, Pliny, and Pausanias had already been interested in. The main reason that the colossal statue of the "Mother of the Gods" on Sipylus (Chapter 1) has received as much attention as it has in modern European scholarship is simply because Pausanias mentioned it. But along with objects of interest, early modern antiquarians also inherited targets of indifference. The accounts of eighteenth-century AD travelers who, having read Cicero, went to Syracuse in search of the tomb of Archimedes sound like Cicero's own narrative in their contempt for locals. According to those early modern accounts, eighteenth-century AD Syracusans had forgotten the location of the tomb of Archimedes. And though the tomb itself was nowhere to be found, the Syracusans did in fact point to the ruins of structures associated with their famous native son, including his house and the tower from which he had famously aimed his ship-burning mirror at the invading Roman navy.¹³ But such was the visitors' desire to see the mathematician's final resting place that by the nineteenth century AD the Syracusans began claiming that a *columbarium* was the tomb of the polymath.¹⁴ When it comes to finding the past in things, the discourses of locals and foreigners as well as those of experts and amateurs were – and in fact continue to be – entangled.

In Syracuse, Cicero portrays himself as a lone Roman admirer of a glorious Syracusan past about which the Syracusans themselves do not care. Total ignorance about the matter among locals is unlikely. In the first century BC, there would have been Syracusans who were themselves proud of Archimedes. The inhabitants of other Greek cities in Roman Italy demonstrably celebrated themselves as the heirs of famous Greek intellectual ancestors.¹⁵ There is no reason to think that Syracuse was more forgetful than other cities of the region. Local amnesia is recurrently alleged by foreign archaeophiles. It was diagnosed by Cicero and by his early modern successors in Syracuse. It is also the exact diagnosis of some modern scholars studying the relationship between the inhabitants of Greek and Roman Anatolia and the pre-classical material remains of the region (Chapter 4).

Arrian and the Anchors of the Argo in Colchis

Although local interpreters are often wholly absent from the writings of traveling experts, they were still treated as rivals by those experts. The agonistic

dynamics of encounters between local and foreign archaeophiles can be deduced even when foreign travelers fail to explicitly mention their local interlocutors. Such is the case, for example, in a passage from the *Periplus of the Black Sea* written by the second-century AD historian Arrian of Nicomedia:

On the left, as you advance up the Phasis River, stands [a statue of] the goddess of Phasis. From her appearance, it would seem to one inspecting her that she is Rhea, for she has a cymbal in her hand and lions under her throne, and [the statue] is seated just as the one made by Phidias in the Sanctuary of the Mother in Athens. And an anchor is shown there said to be that of the Argo. The anchor made of iron does not seem old to me – although in size it is not like today’s anchors, and it has been slightly modified in its appearance – to me it seems rather recent. The fragments of another anchor made of stone, however, are also shown there as antiquities [παλαιά], and those *do* seem to be the remains of the anchor of the Argo. But there was no other memento there of the stories told about Jason.¹⁶

Arrian was a close friend of the emperor Hadrian, a renowned archaeophile to whom the *Periplus* is dedicated. When Arrian visited the sanctuary of “Rhea” in Phasis, on the western coast of modern Georgia, he was traveling as acting governor of Cappadocia – in an official capacity, much as Cicero had done in Syracuse and Mucianus had done in Asia. As an aristocrat and a statesman, he was expected to visit and learn about the antiquities of the regions where he traveled.¹⁷ As Arrian describes noteworthy sites, he not only boasts of his expert knowledge of the physical traces of the local past, but also imagines a total rupture between the inhabitants of Roman Colchis and the physical traces of the Argonauts in their territory.

Upon initial inspection of this passage, the visit to the temple of the goddess of Phasis seems to involve Arrian alone. Again, amnesia prevails: apart from the anchors, “there was no other memento there of the stories told about Jason.” And yet, it is simply not true that none of the Phasians shared Arrian’s interest in antiquities. In the Roman period, some of them were proud specifically of the physical traces of the Argonauts in their territory. Indeed, even as late as the third century AD, the people of Colchis did point, for example, to the remains of the city of Aea and to the ruins of the palace of the mythical King Aetes, both known from Apollonius’s *Argonautica*.¹⁸

It is frustrating, but characteristic of the writings of aristocratic Roman archaeophiles, that in this passage Arrian reveals little about the wardens of the temple in Phasis or what they thought about their local collection of antiquities. Even so, behind every one of Arrian’s claims one can surmise the presence of local archaeophiles. Surely the Phasians would have known who their own goddess was. Did Arrian not think to ask them to confirm her identity? Or did he in fact inquire, but then found their answers unsatisfactory? Alternatively,

did he take credit for information that he knew to be the case independently of the statue in Athens? A Phasian guide must have shown him the anchors and told him that they had once belonged to the Argo. The recourse to pan-Hellenic memory horizons is not surprising. Phasis, after all, was a colony of Miletus. As in “countless imperial settings,” here too there were “locals eager to impress ... both the antiquity of their land and its impeccable Homeric credentials.”¹⁹

Arrian’s analysis of the anchors provides valuable insight into two key aspects of Roman archaeophilia: the importance of material connoisseurship and the threat fakes posed to traveling experts. Arrian was more than just casually interested in the physical traces of the past – he was a connoisseur. Like many other Roman experts, he was proud of autopsy and, more generally, of direct and fully embodied engagement with antiquities. He even implied that he could determine the identity, authenticity, and relative age of votive objects in the sanctuary in Phasis from their physical appearance. He identified the statue of the Colchian goddess by invoking close formal similarities with a different statue he himself had seen in distant Athens. He also knew that anchors used in the past did not look like those of his own day and that the anchor of the Argo specifically was made of stone.²⁰ That last piece of information was a sign of literary erudition.²¹ That realization allowed him to use the materiality of the votive anchors as a chronological gauge. Even if Arrian did not make his antagonists explicit, he made these connoisseurial claims here with obvious competitive intent.

Arrian’s eagerness to outperform unmentioned rivals is clearest in his refutation of the purported antiquity and origin of the iron anchor. Critically, he noted that the iron anchor had been physically altered somehow (τὸ σιδηρὸν ἀμυγέπη ἐξηλλαγμένη), playing up his own talent as a connoisseur *against* local tales regarding the object’s spurious biography. He did not assert overtly that the alterations were made deliberately to deceive visitors, although that seems to be what he implies (especially given that he says that a fake iron anchor was displayed next to the authentic one).

Expert archaeophiles throughout the Roman world were ever mindful of the risk of being duped by locals, or at least of the possibility that the antiquities shown to them were not what locals claimed them to be. A modern commentator on this passage has argued that the “fact that the anchor was fake (at least so far as Arrian was concerned) is neither here nor there.”²² On the contrary, Arrian’s claim is a crucial reminder of his combative engagement with other archaeophiles and provides insight into how some local experts were involved in archaeophilia. Arrian’s reflections about ancient nautical apparatus involved the sort of learned exegesis with which aristocratic experts would try to outperform both locals and their own fellow expert archaeophiles, some of whom would not have physically interacted with the antiquities under discussion. Arrian’s analysis delivers a one-two punch: first, he debunks the local tale about

the iron anchor, then he reveals that the authentic anchor of the Argo was right there all along anyway. Armed with his account, future visitors could properly understand the traces of the Argo at Phasis (and perhaps also elsewhere).²³

More interestingly, the accusation of forgery actually proves that – in spite of stark asymmetries – local experts were not simply the ignorant passive audience of active traveling archaeophiles. The wardens of the sanctuary in Phasis may have been motivated to produce an ancient-looking anchor *specifically* because they knew that Arrian, a personal friend of Hadrian, would be visiting their city. Temple officials elsewhere in the Roman world were responsible for much more daring instances of forgery. A memorable example is the case of a “pickled Triton” shown in the temple of Dionysus at Tanagra, in Boeotia.²⁴ The act of distinguishing something as a fake marks not only ontological, but also political and ethical boundaries between that object and a hypothetical authentic one, as well as between those who know how to make that distinction and those who do not. There is no reason to believe that the Phasians were persuaded by Arrian’s interpretation of the anchors or that they cared at all about Arrian’s opinion. However it may have been, Arrian’s report shows that material connoisseurship was a key part of archaeophilia among Roman aristocrats.

The specter of forgery troubled traveling experts because they were aware that locals knew how to make things that attracted their interest; they certainly knew how to frame things in a manner that made those things appear like the antiquities foreign visitors wanted to experience. So, was the anchor in Phasis fake? Perhaps the question should be: who got to decide? As one of the most famous of all twentieth-century AD forgers once proclaimed:

Ever since art was invented people have made “imitations” of it – shall we say – and I believe that the real criminal, if there is one, is the person who makes the false description.²⁵

The accusation that something is a fake is the ultimate manifestation of non-coinciding memory horizons. The antiquities of Phasis mattered not only because they were intrinsically old, but because locals expected traveling experts such as Arrian to make an effort to see them and occasionally describe them. That anchor, on its own, was not proclaiming to be anything.

An Egyptian Merchant and the “Traces” of Alexander’s Generals in Gujarat

Whether the anchor in Phasis was invented from scratch or simply described incorrectly, Arrian’s implication that it was fake provides insight into the fraught negotiations between local and foreign archaeophiles. The intentional misrepresentation or deceitful production of antiquities evidently targeted aristocratic traveling experts such as Arrian, Mucianus, and Hadrian. It also illuminates, however indirectly, a series of people who are not usually considered the

antecedents of early modern and modern antiquarians and archaeologists. The following incident provides a glimpse into the dynamics of interaction between non-elite Mediterranean interpreters and their interlocutors far beyond the Mediterranean.

In the second half of the first century AD, a Greek-speaking traveler from Roman Egypt reached a port-city in Gujarat, India, some 30 kilometers inland from the mouth of the Narmada River. Having made his way on a boat from Egypt through the Mandeb Strait, past the Arabian peninsula, across the ancient Red Sea (the name designated much of today's northwestern Indian Ocean) to a harbor town he called Barygaza (modern Bharuch), that traveler noted:

There survive to this day signs of Alexander's expedition around these parts, ancient shrines and foundations of encampments and deep wells.²⁶

Despite the fact that the two texts share almost identical titles, the *Periplus of the Red Sea* – which is the source of this brief report – is very different from Arrian's *Periplus of the Black Sea*. While the latter was the literary exercise of an aristocratic statesman, the former documents an ancient merchant's experiential knowledge of transcontinental trade and travel. So eminently practical is the information contained in the *Periplus of the Red Sea*, and so self-effacing is its author, that scholars used to think that the text was a compilation of the experiences of several merchants, rather than the report of a single one.²⁷ At any rate, the *Periplus of the Red Sea* is yet further proof that interest in the material remains of former times was not unique to elites, nor was it restricted to monuments in the Mediterranean, much less those that still happen to be tourist attractions today. What the Egyptian merchant experienced in Barygaza could be replicated throughout the Roman world: travelers, traders, soldiers, and religious pilgrims regularly came into contact with material remains of former times in places far removed from their hometowns.

Of particular interest in this passage is the nonchalant confidence with which the author made sense of ruins in India. From his brief report, it is clear that he understood those remains against a Mediterranean memory horizon even though he himself was very far away from the Mediterranean. Indeed, this incident may be used to argue that it was rare for ancient interpreters to conclude that a physical trace of the past was both historically meaningful and somehow not part of their own historical memory.

It is impossible to tell what the Egyptian traveler actually saw.²⁸ A combination of linguistic and archaeological evidence provides some tentative answers to questions regarding how he learned about the meaning and origins of the antiquities of Barygaza. Did he actually recognize the “signs of Alexander” himself, unaided, or was he reporting second-hand information? Contrary to that merchant's opinion, Alexander the Great did not make it as far south as Barygaza.²⁹ Troubled by this report in the *Periplus*, W. W. Tarn proposed in 1938

that the “signs” the merchant saw could have been the remains of infrastructure commissioned by the second-century BC Indo-Greek general Apollodotus Soter.³⁰ Perhaps, and yet Tarn’s solution merely replicates the traveler’s own fixation with Western protagonists and events, summarily replacing what Tarn considered a historically impossible explanation with one that was only slightly more plausible – one that Tarn had selected precisely because it was partly familiar to European classicists. Tarn did not consider possibilities except those that involved the material legacy of the ancient Greeks in India.

By contrast, Lionel Casson, who edited the *Periplus* in 1989, prudently proposed an alternative scenario: “It is also possible that the remains [in Barygaza] had as little to do with Apollodotus as with Alexander, that they may have been, like so many similar identifications, manufactured by local guides to please tourists from the West.”³¹ Casson’s proposal of intentional manufacture resonates with my analysis of the purportedly fake anchor in Phasis. Even as far from Rome as Barygaza, local archaeophiles (guides or trading partners of the Egyptian merchant) may have deliberately framed Indian ruins within their Mediterranean visitors’ memory horizons, instead of attempting to explain what they themselves understood to be the case. Or they may have explained those ruins as they were understood locally, and it may have been the Egyptian merchant who reinterpreted and “corrected” local interpretations he assumed to be false. So too had Pausanias “corrected” the ploughmen in Temenothyrae and Pliny “corrected” Mucianus’s report about the letter of Sarpedon ([Chapter 2](#)).

Regardless of what the ruins were that the merchant saw in Barygaza, it is worth pointing out that ancient traders traveling along the Indian Ocean knew of noteworthy landmarks along their routes and repeatedly visited them. Sometimes they left graphic testimonies of their visits. Cave Hoq on the island of Socotra, 300 kilometers from the coast of Arabia and 240 kilometers from the coast of Africa, offers striking evidence of the traders’ activity: between the first and the sixth century AD, sailors made inscriptions in a variety of scripts and languages, including Brahmi, South Arabian, Ethiopic, Greek, Palmyrene, and Bactrian.³² The sailors were probably drawn to Socotra partly because of its flora, specifically its aloe and dragon-blood trees. Evidently, irrespective of cultural or linguistic background, they also visited Cave Hoq. It is hard to know exactly what the role of locals would have been during those visits, but given that the island is extremely difficult to reach during part of the year because of monsoon winds and lacks good natural harbors, it is easy to imagine that even before the foreign sailors stepped on land, the people of Socotra must have had a hand in enabling their access to the island.³³

The report in the *Periplus* prompts a practical question about the dynamics of interaction among local and foreign interpreters. What language did the merchant speak with his informants? It is conceivable that Greek-speaking travelers may have established an outpost in India and that they would have

spoken Greek with the merchant, but Casson thinks it more likely that Indians would have been the ones who interacted with the author of the *Periplus*. In a busy ancient port on the Indian Ocean, pidgins would not have been uncommon.³⁴ Regardless of what exactly was spoken in Barygaza, it is clear that the author of the *Periplus* was occasionally attentive to local languages and their historical connections across the ocean.³⁵

The interpretation of the “signs of Alexander” was a mishmash of information that changed and became more nuanced over time as local and foreign merchants continued to interact. Locals may have come to expect monetary compensation from visitors interested in their ruins. Foreigners, in turn, may have wanted not just to see ruins in India but, as Raoul McLaughlin has suggested, to acquire souvenirs of ancient Macedonian kings in local markets.³⁶ Indeed, the author of the *Periplus* mentions that “even now in Barygaza old drachmae circulated which were engraved with Greek letters, issues of Apollodotus and Menander, who reigned after Alexander.”³⁷ A hoard of silver coins found in the nearby port of Gogha supports the idea that such Indo-Greek issues were circulating in first-century AD Gujarat.³⁸ The old issues of Apollodotus and Menander were apparently traded locally as bullion,³⁹ but travelers from the Mediterranean seem to have valued such objects as the opposite of exotica, ancient tokens of familiarity in a foreign land (Figure 5.2).

Similar negotiations to those which occurred in Barygaza happened also in Roman Anatolia. Aristocratic visitors to the peninsula who had come from the west would not have had to overcome linguistic barriers – Greek, after all, was the language of diplomacy between Rome and its eastern provinces. But non-elite visitors and visitors from outside the Roman Empire would not necessarily have known Greek. Even if there were no linguistic obstacles, there would have been inevitable semantic challenges: who exactly was the giant in Fasillar or the honorands of the reliefs in Uzunoğlu Tepe and Karabur (Chapter 2)? There is every reason to believe that throughout the Anatolian peninsula, both local and visiting archaeophiles had their own horizons against which to make sense of the physical traces of the past. Frequent references to Homer, Herodotus, and Alexander are surely masking (intentional or unintentional) miscomprehensions between foreign archaeophiles and local interpreters.

The author of the *Periplus* found vestiges of Macedonians in India, but how did travelers from the periphery of the Roman Empire interpret the physical traces of the past they saw in Anatolia? When, at the end of the first century BC, Shulay (Συλλαῖος), vizier of the Nabataean king ‘Obodat III and acquaintance of the emperor Augustus, visited Ionia, did he somehow recognize in the region remnants of the Nabataean or Arabian past? From bilingual Nabataean–Greek inscriptions Shulay left in Miletus and Delos,⁴⁰ it is clear that he, like Mucianus, was keen to visit sanctuaries in important ports in the eastern Mediterranean. Those sanctuaries were repositories of antiquities, which Shulay, ambitious



5.2 Drachma of Apollodotus II, early first century BC, minted in India. (© The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.)

politician that he was, would have inspected personally.⁴¹ Would he have explained those Anatolian antiquities against Nabataean or more generally Arabian global histories and transcontinental accomplishments? In a temple of Apollo Delphinus at Miletus, Shulay left an inscription to a Zeus that he identified as Dushares, principal deity of the Nabataeans. Elsewhere in the Greek world, his compatriots left other votive offerings for Greek gods that they similarly identified by Nabataean names.⁴² Different interpreters made sense of the same physical traces of the past against their own vastly different memory horizons. There is no reason to doubt that Shulay and other visitors to Anatolia had their own Homers and Alexanders with which to explain Anatolian antiquities.

EXPERT SENSES

Julia Balbilla, the Egyptian Priests, and the Sound of an Ancient King in Egyptian Thebes

Modern scholars have often called attention to the value that Greek and Roman historians placed on autopsy. But autopsy – with its narrow focus on the eyes – only partially captures the impulse to experience antiquity in embodied fashion. Roman period archaeophiles wanted to know and feel the past multi-sensorially. As discussed above (especially in [Chapter 3](#)), many archaeophiles wanted to interact directly with the physical traces of the past; immediacy and vividness were prized. Some archaeophiles thought they could taste and ingest those traces; others longed to hear the past, literally.

The sensorial dimensions of archaeophilia can be further explored by considering a famous monument that attracted – and indeed continues to attract – intense interest: the Colossi of Memnon in Thebes (now Luxor) in Egypt ([Figure 5.3](#)): two enormous limestone statues erected ca. 1400 BC



5.3 “Colossi of Memnon” at Thebes (Luxor), Egypt. (Egypt; *Heliogravures after Original Views: Colossi of Memnon at Thebes* (Berlin: Cosmos Art Publishing Co., n.d., ca. 1893). Brooklyn Museum Libraries. Wilbour Library of Egyptology. Special Collections.)

by Pharaoh Amenhotep III (Dynasty XVIII). Glen Bowersock ranked these statues “among the most imposing monuments of the past after the pyramids” and noted that this was “true in antiquity no less than in modern times.”⁴³ An earthquake that struck the region in 26 BC is usually held accountable for toppling the top of the northern statue and creating the physical conditions under which its ruins produced a sort of shriek.⁴⁴

Beginning in the last quarter of the first century BC, ancient pilgrims and tourists from around the Mediterranean came to the Theban necropolis to witness one of those Colossi “speak” at dawn. The exact motivation of the foreign visitors is confirmed and further explained by ancient literary sources beginning with Strabo. In antiquity, the ruins of the Colossi were inscribed with the records of dozens of ancient visitors. Their inscriptions stand as an incontrovertible document of Greek and Roman eagerness to get to know this ancient Egyptian “wonder” with eyes *and* ears (Figure 5.4).⁴⁵ Many of the inscriptions carved on the northern Colossus demonstrate that what Greek and



5.4 Poem of Julia Balbilla inscribed on one of the “Colossi of Memnon,” Thebes, Egypt. (jackie ellis/Alamy Stock Photo.)

Roman visitors wanted to experience at the site was to hear the statue’s “voice,” or “cry” or “bellowing,” as that shriek is variously called in ancient texts.⁴⁶

It will not have escaped the readers’ notice that, up to this point, every single case of archaeophilia I have studied involves primarily or exclusively men. Several of the texts carved on the Memnonion are poems written by aristocratic women and they provide valuable insight into female participation in the agonistic dynamics of Roman archaeophilia.⁴⁷ The best known of these texts are four epigrams by the poet Julia Balbilla. Balbilla came from royal stock: one of her grandfathers was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the last king of Commagene;⁴⁸ the other was Titus Claudius Balbillus, prefect of Egypt. Her brother, Gaius Iulius Philoppapus, commissioned the famous mausoleum in Athens that bears his name. On November 19–21, AD 130, Balbilla visited the Memnonion in Emperor Hadrian’s entourage – probably as part of his wife Sabina’s retinue. On that occasion, she inscribed the following verses on the colossus:

Julia Balbilla – When the August Hadrian heard Memnon.

I had learned that Memnon the Egyptian, warmed by a ray of the sun uttered a voice from the Theban stone. Upon seeing Hadrian, the almighty king, before the rays of the sun, he [i.e., Memnon] saluted him as best he could. But when Titan, driving through the ether on white horses, held the second measure of the hours in the shadow, Memnon again voiced a high-pitched sound, as of bronze that is struck; and saluting him he

released a third call. Then the ruler Hadrian himself greeted Memnon appropriately and on the stone left for future generations verses that indicate what he saw and what he heard. It was clear to all that the gods love him [i.e., Hadrian].⁴⁹

It is frequently asserted in literary analyses of her epigrams that Balbilla is not an outstanding poet.⁵⁰ And yet she has deserved much scholarly attention partly because, by writing in an artificial Aeolic dialect, she aligned herself with Sappho, the most famous of all Greek female poets, who had lived some seven centuries before her. The fact that she is not a professional poet makes her decision to write in pseudo-Aeolic all the more interesting. Balbilla's verses matter here especially for two reasons: for her insistence on experiencing firsthand a phenomenon that she already knew about from literature, and for the light they shine on the performative aspects of archaeophilia. As I discussed already in relation to Mucianus's report about the breastplate of Amasis in Lindus and the ship-stopping murex shells in Cnidus ([Chapter 2](#)), many elite experts were particularly interested in traces of the past that had a literary life of their own.⁵¹ When thinking about the Colossus, one wonders, with Ewen Bowie: "did Roman tourists bring Herodotus Book 2 as bedtime reading?"⁵² Archaeophiles throughout the Roman world wanted to get to know – in person – objects that they had read about in literature.

Balbilla's epigram also calls attention to the fact that this was an embodied performance involving at least the visitors and the statue. The men and women in Hadrian's retinue were not mere spectators, nor was the statue simply a backdrop. One can easily imagine the expectation of the learned visitors as dawn approached. For reasons unknown to them, the statue did not always "speak." On the occasions when it did, the sound provided a reason for celebration. What did the Roman emperor do before the Egyptian statue? More specifically, how exactly did Hadrian "greet" the Colossus when it "spoke"? Presumably not with a reciprocal high-pitched sound.

The situation is somewhat reminiscent of that involving the bones of Ajax in Troy ([Chapter 2](#)), except that, in Egypt, local priests may have had more agency than whoever found the giant bones in the Troad. In fact, local experts may have controlled not simply access to the statue, but in fact, the sound itself. Two different hypotheses have been proposed to account for the acoustic phenomenon.⁵³ One attributes the noise to air as it expanded through microfissures in the statue when it was heated by the sun's rays. According to the other hypothesis, which was advanced already in antiquity, the local priests may have been entirely responsible for the acoustic miracle.⁵⁴ The intentional, often elaborate effort to make the traces of the past more vivid, more surprising, and more spectacular was a common practice of local archaeophiles interested in exploiting the presence of foreign visitors. The voice of Memnon

may thus be analogous to the fake anchor of the Argo in Colchis, the spurious letter of Sarpedon in Xanthus ([Chapter 2](#)), and the macabre spectacles of the eunuchs in the Plutonium in Hierapolis ([Chapter 3](#)).

A different epigram of Balbilla also inscribed on the statue sheds further light on the dynamics of interaction between local Egyptian experts and Hadrian's retinue at the Memnonion. This epigram seems to suggest that Balbilla was privy to a local alternative discourse. In the opening verses of this poem, she invokes Memnon, son of Dawn, the "Ethiopian" hero who would have been familiar to anyone who had read Homeric epic. But then Balbilla adds, as if in doubt: "or Amenoth, Egyptian King, as the priests who knew the stories of old declare."⁵⁵ In this alternative scenario, the colossal statue of a pharaoh had allegedly been broken, *not* as the result of an earthquake, but rather because the "barbarian and godless" Persian king Cambyses had "cut your [i.e., Amenoth's] eyes and tongue."⁵⁶ This interpretation of the monument is commemorated in other inscriptions carved on the statue and is also known from Pausanias,⁵⁷ a near contemporary of Balbilla, who himself calls the pharaoh Phamenoph.⁵⁸ Balbilla's allusion to the destruction of the statue of an Egyptian pharaoh by the hybristic Cambyses is not a demonstration of literary erudition; rather it is a boastful token of access to the Egyptian archaeophiles whom she explicitly mentions as her sources.⁵⁹

The competitive aspect of archaeophilia among Roman aristocrats would make the mere existence of alternative discourses an exciting possibility to show off personal expertise. Brennan imagines that those priests would have "charged handsomely for the privilege of writing on the stone."⁶⁰ It was presumably with them acting as intermediaries that professional rock-cutters inscribed the visitors' texts. Obviously not every visitor had the disposable resources to leave their mark; perhaps even fewer had the privilege of interacting directly with those "who knew the stories of old" (ἱρῆες μύθων τῶν παλᾶων ἱδρίες). Rather than shying away from conflicting interpretations, Balbilla emphasizes the problem of parallax: when inspected from Egypt, or at least by an Egyptian priest, what Strabo called Memnon was actually Amenoth.

Whoever the statue was thought to be by Roman archaeophiles, the sound was no longer produced after it was restored in the reign of Septimius Severus. Bowersock speculated that instead of Septimius, the empress Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, should be credited for its restoration.⁶¹ If his suggestion is correct, we would then have evidence of an aristocratic woman – and not just any woman, but an Arab queen – involved in a major act of archaeophilia in Egypt. How did the "illustrious, pious queen"⁶² understand her own relation to the statue in Thebes? Did she think she was returning one of her own ancestors to his former glory? Who was Memnon for Zenobia and did she too care about his voice?

Connoisseurs of Necrocorinthia in Greece and Rome

The wondrous sound of Memnon was key to the experience of aristocratic Roman archaeophiles in Thebes. Hearing that “voice” made one experience the coming together of past and present. Modern archaeologists are generally more attuned to visual and tactile experiences than to ones involving other senses, but every archaeologist will know of examples of intensely embodied expertise. A common event: when in doubt about whether a small excavated artifact is made of bone or stone, archaeologists often place that object in their mouth since only bone adheres to the tongue given that most stone is comparatively less porous. The following discussion concerns strategies of interaction with antiquities that involve primarily olfaction.

Strabo describes a sudden craze for Greek antiquities that overtook Rome soon after 44 BC, when Julius Caesar re-founded the Greek city of Corinth as a Roman colony:

For a long time, Corinth remained deserted, but it was restored, on account of its ideal position, by the divine Caesar who sent colonizers, most of whom were freedmen. They moved the ruins and dug up the graves and found mostly ceramic [objects] ... and also many bronze vessels. Since they admired their workmanship, they left no grave unsearched so that they ended up with an abundance of such items; they sold them for high prices filling Rome up with *necrocorinthia* – for that is what they call the remains from the graves, and especially the ceramics. Initially, they were very highly prized just as much as the bronze vessels, but then the fad stopped because the ceramics were no longer available and not very well executed most of them.⁶³

This passage is a favorite of historians of archaeology and antiquarianism because many of the attitudes and practices described by Strabo concord with those of early modern and modern European antiquarians and archaeologists.⁶⁴ Among these recognizable attitudes and practices are the targeted excavation of antiquities (even if during the “restoration” of Corinth these amounted to grave-robbing), the impulse not only to dig for such things, but also to transport them over hundreds and even thousands of kilometers, and, at a much more basic level, the desire to possess them. The Romans’ craze for ancient Greek bronzes and ceramics resonates with the interest of Western collectors and museums which, ever since the Renaissance, have also sought to own them. This passage also highlights the dynamics of interaction among the various people involved in the manipulation and interpretation of prized antiquities. Strabo effectively describes how the ransacking of a Greek city stimulated in Rome a covetous craving for the physical traces of a past that was temporally and geographically remote, but culturally ever nearer and more relevant. The prestige of the colonized Greeks dazzled the Roman colonizer: *necrocorinthia*

were just one way in which “captive Greece [captured her savage victor and] brought the arts to rural Latium.”⁶⁵

From this brief extract, it is possible to conclude that those antiquities became tools that served to mark social divisions back in Rome: the Roman aristocracy collected metal vessels, weapons, and statues, while others treasured ceramic objects of varying quality and sometimes of suspicious provenance. As it happens, some artifacts were produced anew as antiquities. Once again, forgers appear as the expert’s evil twin. And yet, some Roman connoisseurs again claimed to know how to tell the difference between authentic and fake *necrocorinthia*. The striking familiarity of Strabo’s description of looting and competitive collecting should not make us lose sight of differences between what happened in ancient Corinth and modern engagement with the material legacy of archaic and classical Greece. I will highlight two: one has to do with differences in the traces themselves and the other with strategies of the authentication of those traces.

In 1931, archaeologist Humfry Payne published a book that became foundational for classical archaeologists specializing in fine Greek pottery: *Necrocorinthia: A Study of Corinthian Art in the Archaic Period*. Payne borrowed the curious title of his book from the passage of Strabo quoted above. A photograph of a vessel like those Payne studied is printed by Schnapp to illustrate the coincidence between ancient and modern horizons. The caption accompanying the illustration reads: “Example of a vase of the Archaic cemeteries of Corinth, of the type which aroused the enthusiasm of the Romans.”⁶⁶ But the title of Payne’s book as well as the juxtaposition of photograph and text by Schnapp are misleading. Although the fine polychrome ceramic vessels of archaic Corinth that today adorn encyclopedic museums in European and American capitals came from graves, they were almost certainly not what Strabo and the Romans understood by that name. As Payne himself noted, “Rome rarely took much account of early archaic Greek art, and even more rarely showed any disposition to collect it.”⁶⁷ Strabo’s ὀστράκινὰ τορεύματα refers literally to “ceramic [objects] with relief decoration;” what the Romans were actually crazy about was probably Hellenistic molded bowls and certainly the spectacular and much rarer metal vessels that scarcely survive today.

Ancient strategies of authenticating Corinthian antiquities deserve more detailed scrutiny. In Rome, the most prized *necrocorinthia* were not ceramics – polychrome or molded – but rather bronzes.⁶⁸ Few of these metal objects are extant – sadly, for they are artifacts of astounding craftsmanship. Strabo suggests that after an initial episode of looting, only objects of inferior quality were left in the market. Independently of Strabo, other ancient authors point to the fact that fakes were ubiquitous. Literary evidence concerning the authentication of Corinthian bronzes provides insight into a type of embodied expertise that is almost unheard of among archaeologists today: olfactory connoisseurship.⁶⁹

The poet Martial seems to suggest that one way to verify the provenance of archaic Corinthian bronzes was to smell them.⁷⁰ This and a related passage of Petronius,⁷¹ which apparently mocks the same practice, have been the subject of repeated debate among scholars. One classicist believed that the patina of Corinthian bronzes may have been the source of the tell-tale smell,⁷² while another, more skeptically, argued that the bizarre notion of olfactory authentication as implied by ancient authors was never an actual practice, but should be understood, rather, as a mocking reference to the pedantry of collectors and connoisseurs.⁷³

Pedants or not, many and diverse people in the Roman Mediterranean claimed to be able to use their senses of smell and taste to make inferences about such things as the provenance, age, and authenticity of ancient objects. More generally, olfactory stimuli were recognized by various archaeophiles in the Roman world as an index of the relationship between present matter and past time. According to Pliny the Elder, for example, the exceptional high-quality plaster used by Panaenus – brother of the famous Greek sculptor Phidias – in the temple of Athena in Elis smelled and tasted of saffron.⁷⁴ The smell was still perceptible in his own day, five centuries after it had been first made. A reader could think that Pliny is unusual; after all, he is one of those Greek and Roman experts whose investigations have been imagined as the foundation of Western art historical connoisseurship. One could imagine, perhaps, that his experimental enthusiasm led him to make an outlandish and boastful assertion. But less reputable sources make similar claims. For instance, the author of *On Marvelous Things Heard*⁷⁵ also records that ancient connoisseurs could use smell to recognize a special type of copper said to have been used to make the drinking cups of the Persian king Darius.⁷⁶

Significantly, the people who made claims about the past based on olfactory traces range across the social spectrum. In addition to the experts already mentioned, in other words, to aristocratic archaeophiles (such as Pliny or Mucianus), people who wanted to appear like savants (such as the author of *On Marvelous Things Heard*), and collectors in Rome (to whom Martial and perhaps Petronius seem to allude in mocking fashion), there were also small, often remote communities who drew connections between intense local smells that lingered in their country and important historical or mythical events in the remote past.

With Valeria Sergueenkova, I have shown that distinctive smells in the landscapes of the Roman Mediterranean were variously said to be remnants of the rotting corpses of ancient giants, centaurs, and dragons, as well as traces of important cultural heroes.⁷⁷ For example, in the region of Phocis in the village of Panopeus (an undistinguished settlement, but one with a proud ancient past), the smell of two peculiar stones in a ravine was adduced by the inhabitants of the place as evidence that a local archaic cult statue celebrated the mythical hero Prometheus, rather than the god Asclepius.⁷⁸ Locals agreed that the stones

in the ravine in Panopeus smelled like human flesh and said that they were the remnants of the very clay used by Prometheus to mold humankind. Smells could also index chronologically remote, non-mythological events – such as in Ozolian Locris, whose citizens associated a local foul smell with the untanned hides allegedly worn in remote antiquity by prehistoric men.⁷⁹ Plutarch mentions a more complex assemblage involving key olfactory traces of the past. According to him, there is a small sanctuary of Artemis Proseoea on Euboea, where

Trees have grown and white stone stelae [have been] erected around it. The stone when rubbed with the hand, gives the color and the odor of saffron. And a place is pointed out on the shore, all around which is sand, which gives from the deep a black and ashen dust, as if it had been in a conflagration; in which it seems they burned the wreck and corpses.⁸⁰

The territory in which that sanctuary lies was once ruled by the hapless hero Philoctetes – he of the festering and foul wound. The passage suggests that the memory of the shipwrecked Philoctetes, instead of being associated with the stench of his wound, was preserved in twin antithetical smells: on the one hand, that of the ash of burnt wood and cadavers, and on the other – as if he were a sort of stylite Byzantine saint – that of the miraculous odor of stone.

Modern scholars may dismiss all of these claims by arguing that the notion of olfactory indices of history is proof of the naïve credulity of locals or the uneducated populace in general. But even if one leaves aside the problems involved in pitting the errors of the common folk against the prudence of learned intellectuals, it is still the case that respectable authors including Pausanias, Pliny, Plutarch, and Strabo weighed in on the various merits of such specific olfactory associations without explicitly doubting that smells (and tastes) could inhere in things over very many generations.

There are obvious differences in the olfactory associations made at either end of the social spectrum. While small, remote communities appealed to stimuli that absolutely anyone could smell, and often specifically to foul smells – in other words, to the incontrovertible evidence of the senses – savants of the nose in Roman antiquity, like modern *sommeliers* and *parfumeurs*, claimed exceptional expertise about the opposite: olfactory traces that almost no one could detect. At any rate, both urban sophisticates and country bumpkins in the Roman Mediterranean thought themselves capable of identifying the traces of the past through their noses. It is worth remembering that “our sense of smell is so underdeveloped in the modern West that we can no more appreciate the importance of odour in the ancient world than the blind can describe a colourful scene.”⁸¹

And why should anyone doubt that smells could be used thus? Classicist Tim Whitmarsh has discussed Roman period references to material remains in ancient debates involving conflicting traditions about the past. He has argued

that “[t]hese appeals to physical monuments are not innocent; blocks of stone are ontologically nonnegotiable, concrete symbols of a claimed solidity in the relationship between past and present.”⁸² In other words, it is hard to object to the sheer reality of a rock. But are powerful, lingering smells any less real? I would argue that few things are more “ontologically nonnegotiable” than an intense fodor penetrating the nostrils, even against one’s will, inciting repulsion, demanding immediate attention, and, occasionally, also explanation. From the perspective of some ancient archaeophiles, that vivid, specifically embodied aspect of sensory engagement with the past was of central importance. Heraclitus famously claimed that eyes are better witnesses than ears.⁸³ Some Roman period experts, I think, would not have overvalued eyes at the expense of other senses.

The desire to experience the physical traces of the past through senses other than sight and touch was not exclusive to aristocrats. Many sorts of archaeophiles throughout the Roman world wanted to hear or smell or taste the past. Why should it have been otherwise? Sight and touch have an almost tyrannical grip on our most common strategies of engagement with antiquities, but is the rubbing of odorous plaster or stone in Roman Greece categorically different from modern forms of connoisseurship and embodied expertise? In the ruins of modern Sardis seasoned archaeologists know that they have come upon ancient mudbrick by the feel of the trowel, even if it is only jokingly that they go on to say that it is the mudbrick of Croesus.

Who should get to make history from things and how? The issue is not trivial. I certainly have not heard the “voice” of Memnon, nor can I authenticate Corinthian bronzes by smelling them. And yet, I do trust some of my contemporaries to be able to trace genetic relationships from tooth plaque (even if I do not know how to do it) and I have spent many days helping a technician measure subsurface differences in electrical resistance in order to explore buried architectural features (many of which I will never see with my own eyes). Ultimately, I have argued here for the need to take other archaeophiles seriously rather than assuming that all interpreters, in Roman Anatolia or elsewhere, would find the past in things exactly as archaeologists and historians now do if only those people shared our own enlightened interests and had at their disposal our own ever more sophisticated technologies.

OTHER PASTS

An Aristocratic Collector of Antiquities in Iberia

Up to this point, my argument in this chapter has depended largely on texts; my examples have come either from the central Mediterranean or from regions further east. Here I will examine two incidents of archaeophilia in the far west, before concluding with a final example from the east. Most of the evidence I marshal is archaeological.

The people of the western Mediterranean under Roman rule have sometimes been accused of suffering from a complete lack of interest in their own past.⁸⁴ The modern scholarly claim that Iberia was amnesic is analogous – arguably even identical – to the alleged lack of interest in pre-classical material remains that some modern classicists have also diagnosed among the inhabitants of Greek and Roman Anatolia. And yet, once again, archaeological evidence demonstrates that in Roman Iberia there was intense interest in the physical traces of the past. The example that follows provides insight into local expressions of archaeophilia that have no obvious counterparts in ancient literature and that were, until recently, largely ignored in scholarship. One of my two Iberian examples involves antiquities that even now are prized in major museums; the other revolves around remains that today deserve the attention mostly of specialists in the Iberian Iron Age and in Iberian writing systems.

The following evidence from the region of Jaén in southwestern Spain clues us into Roman period archaeophilia from the perspective of local elite archaeophiles. Even though the archaeophiles in question were aristocrats, their memory horizons are largely unknown to us. In a town called Piquía (ancient Urgao Alba), near Arjona, a late first century BC elite tomb – partially looted both in antiquity and in the recent past – yielded an extraordinary collection of finds.⁸⁵ In a finely built stone chamber were found – in addition to Roman period artifacts including the remains of a chariot with finely made spoked wheels revetted in iron – archaic indigenous material and a series of fifth- and fourth-century BC Attic red-figure vessels. Among the red-figure vessels were the fragments of a *kylix* (or drinking cup) and several craters (Figure 5.5). On account of the remarkable state of preservation of the craters, the excavators suggested that the Greek objects could have been either kept as heirlooms for many generations, or, alternatively, extracted from elite graves in one of the ancient nearby *oppida* (or small towns) and then reinterred as a group. The latter possibility is more likely than the former since there is no evidence of such early occupation at Piquía itself.⁸⁶ Ancient Iberian artifacts were also found in the tomb, including a spectacular iron dagger of similarly early date: 400–250 BC.

Why did people in late first-century BC Iberia collect this material? Attic red-figure vessels very much like those treasured by aristocrats in Piquía are also prized today in Western museums and private collections; they are valued specifically as paradigmatic examples of the material sophistication of classical Greece. But what those same objects may have meant to people in Roman Iberia is almost impossible to ascertain. According to archaeologist Ricardo Olmos and his colleagues, the Attic ceramics in Piquía point to a deliberate, “specifically antiquarian and – perhaps – erudite attitude.”⁸⁷ They consider the collection an example of the active and imaginative use of ancient Greek artifacts on the part of local aristocrats. By retrieving and reburying



5.5 Attic red-figure craters from late first-century BC tomb in Piquía, Jaén, Spain. (Courtesy of Arturo Ruiz; Archivo del Instituto Universitario de Investigación en Arqueología Ibérica.)

Attic ceramics from elite tombs, prominent families in first-century BC Piquía attempted to connect themselves *both* to the greater Mediterranean *and* to the local Iberian past. Olmos even speculates about how the collectors could have incorporated the specific iconography on the vessels – some of which is mythological – into family narratives concerning their own ancestors. Perhaps this was done in a manner analogous to how a Jewish community at Sardis used archaic lions to celebrate both Jewish and Lydian memory horizons (Chapter 4).

The evidence from Piquía is salient and familiar because modern archaeologists are themselves acutely attuned to the specific material qualities of Attic red-figure ceramics. In fact, the collection buried with the elite male includes traces of the past that antiquarians and archaeologists themselves have traditionally valued for centuries, even if modern and ancient horizons differ. It is worth noting that the evidence from Piquía is not exceptional. Similar finds are known from elsewhere in the southern part of the peninsula: they include, for example, two nearly intact fourth-century BC Attic red-figure *kylikes* from a first-century BC tomb in the Roman necropolis of Albufereta, Alicante.⁸⁸

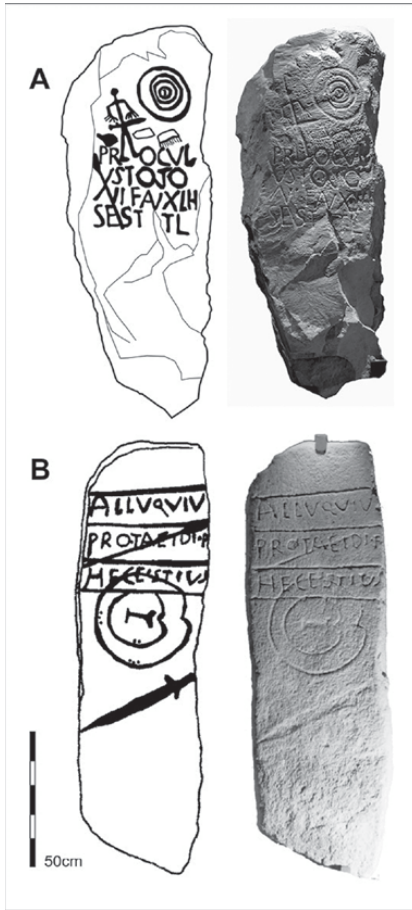
Whatever the images may have meant or however they may have been interpreted, it is clear that the Attic red-figure *kylix* and craters would have contrasted with the ceramic wares that were common in Iberia in the first century BC. The dead would have thus been buried among precious objects that evidenced both their own deep antiquity in the region, and also a much

wider cultural world that extended well beyond the peninsula. What is key, as Olmos himself has argued in an earlier wide-ranging survey of Greek objects in ancient Iberia, is that whoever treasured these types of Greek ceramics was not “a mere passive receptor, but, at every moment, a creator and transformer of meaning and senses that were all his own.”⁸⁹ Quite possibly, archaeophiles in early Roman Iberia valued the vessels just as much because they had once come from afar as because they had belonged to their own aristocratic ancestors. If the excavators are right, then, the *kylix*, craters, and daggers in Piquía were bivalent, serving to trigger both local and trans-local connections and contrasts. After all, as Olmos explains, the man buried there was “a prince who was an Iberian in death and surely also in the client relationships he had with the rest of the people buried in the necropolis, but a man who, in life – almost certainly – was part of the Roman oligarchy.”⁹⁰ His Iberian name and that of his father are preserved in inscriptions in a lead lid that was broken at the time of excavation: *Iltirtiitir*, son of *Ekaterutu*. The search for substantiation of remote local pasts necessitated the reinterpretation and manipulation of its physical traces. Archaeophilia in Roman Iberia was inventive and generative, not a mere reaction to Roman tastes and practices.

The Records of the Turdetani

The memory horizons of local archaeophiles in the region become even foggier when one considers non-elite evidence.⁹¹ People other than princes also manipulated the physical traces of the local past, including artifacts that had been made millennia before them. Leonardo García Sanjuán and Marta Díaz-Guardamino have recently discussed the long-term biographies of prehistoric monuments in the Iberian peninsula.⁹² Among the various cases they study are two stelae found in the towns of Chillón and Ibahernando in a region of the peninsula that was known in antiquity as Turdetania (Figure 5.6). These stelae were originally carved in the late Bronze Age (ca. 1300–600 BC), apparently as funerary markers, and later reused for that same purpose in the first century AD. The original carvings on the stelae depicted what appear to be an armed man standing by a series of concentric circles, in one case, and a sword under a shield, in the other. Latin inscriptions record the names of the honorands and their respective fathers, a standard funerary formula, and even the age of the dead man on one of the stelae.

Who were the archaeophiles interested in these ancient monuments? What did the stelae mean to whoever reused them? Did their reuser consider them vestiges of former times? If so, whose past did those ruins index? Before tackling these questions, it is useful to remember that the western provinces of the Roman Empire have been deemed exceptionally forgetful. Greg Woolf once stated provocatively:



5.6 Late Bronze Age stelae reused as tombstones with Latin inscriptions during the first century AD: (a) Chillon (Ciudad Real) and (b) Ibahernando (Cáceres), Spain. (Photographs and drawings from photographs by Marta Díaz-Guardamino.)

One of the most striking features of the early Roman culture of the western provinces of the empire is the absence of any independent memory of a past before their conquest by Rome. No local coinages preserved images of founders, festivals and monuments did not celebrate historical events and no local histories or vernacular literatures were created.⁹³

If Woolf is right, Iberian amnesia was even more radical than the amnesia that affected Anatolia. For while some scholars have suggested that there was no interest in the physical traces of *pre-classical* material remains in Anatolia,⁹⁴ it is generally acknowledged that the Roman East was enthralled by its own antiquity. Nobody denies that founding heroes, origins myths, and distant genetic connections were celebrated on public sculpture, coins, inscriptions, and oratorical performances throughout Roman Anatolia. Woolf maintained that

not only was there no interest in pre-classical material remains of the western provinces, but that there seems to have been no interest at all in what had happened before the advent of the Romans. The past, if it was anywhere, was in Rome.

Curiously, Woolf's assessment seems to be supported by ancient opinion. Strabo, for example, said of the pre-Roman inhabitants of Turdetania:

The Turdetani, and especially those who live around Baetis, have completely adopted the Roman way [of life] and do not remember even their own language. Most of them have become Latin and have received Romans as colonists, so that they are not very different from being all Roman.⁹⁵

Strabo's analysis of the impact of Roman colonization on the southern Iberian peninsula has incited intense academic reflection, especially among scholars studying ancient colonization. It also provides fertile ground for those investigating social memory in antiquity, and in particular contact and conflict between local and trans-local memory horizons. In discussions of the above passage it is often pointed out that Strabo's notion that the Turdetani had forgotten absolutely everything contradicts what he himself reports earlier in the same book about the Turdetani's deep historical memory:

The wisest of the Iberians are they [i.e., the Turdetani]; they use letters and they have inscriptions and poems of ancient memory and laws that are six thousand years old, as they say.⁹⁶

These seemingly incongruous statements demand clarification. Fortunately, Spanish scholars – both archaeologists and philologists – have grappled with Strabo's apparent contradiction. Gonzalo Cruz-Andreotti, for example, has argued that Strabo's claims about the wisdom of the Turdetani are paradoxically in keeping with the geographer's assertion about their wholesale assimilation to Roman ways. In his reading, Strabo contends that the Turdetani's pre-Roman experience of “civilized” practices made them ideally suited to acknowledge the advantages of the colonizers' way of life (in contradistinction, for example, to the irredeemably barbaric people of northern Iberia).⁹⁷ In brief: Strabo pictured the Turdetani as an eminently civilized people – endowed with writing, literature and laws, and what we could therefore call cultural memory – and, because they were already civilized, as fully willing to embrace Rome, even if that embrace implied forgetting what they knew about their pre-Roman selves.

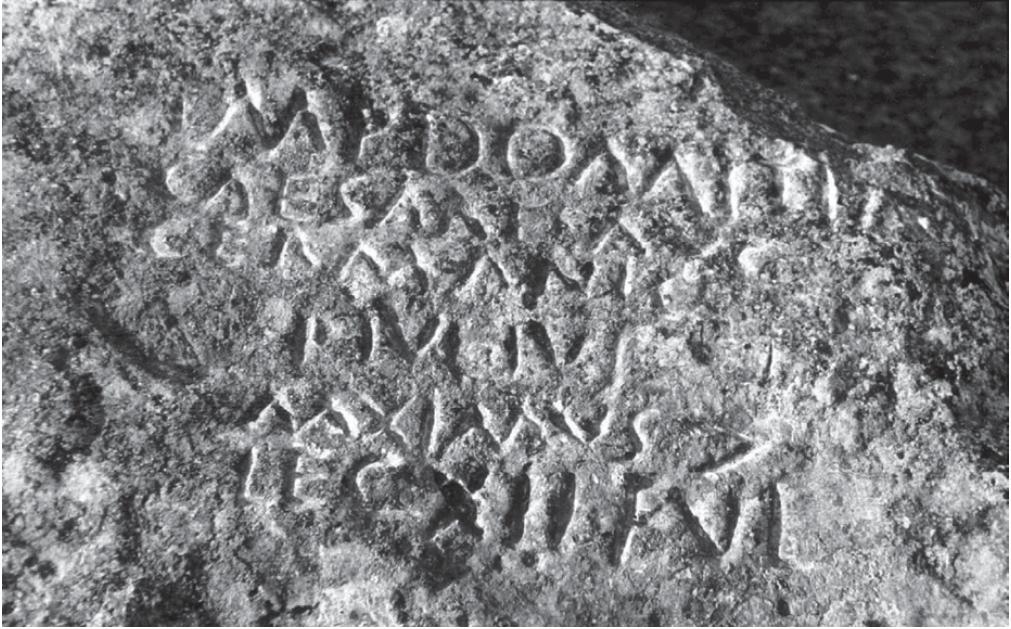
Judging from the texts alone, one could perhaps argue that by Strabo's time nobody actually cared to remember anything about local antiquity in Roman Iberia. Mounting archaeological evidence, however, contradicts the notion of complete forgetfulness. Local communities responded in dynamic and diverse

ways to the exigencies of becoming Roman, including minting coins celebrating pre-Roman gods and heroes, making sculptures that were conversant with Phoenician and Punic practices,⁹⁸ and, more generally, reinterpreting and manipulating the material legacy of pre-Roman times.

One inevitably wonders who told Strabo (or rather, Strabo's sources) that the Turdetani were the wisest of the Iberians and that their poems and laws were six thousand years old. Could it have been the Turdetani themselves? There were clearly expert interpreters of the physical traces of the past in Roman Iberia. Some of these people, such as the prince from Piquía, treasured fine Attic ceramics; others seem to have felt an emotional connection with artifacts that are not usually illustrated in histories of classical art. Were there local archaeophiles who could point, for example, to Bronze Age Iberian stelae inscribed in local scripts and claim that their antiquity was ciphered in such drawings and characters? Confronted with the stelae from Chillón and Ibahernando, would a visitor from the Roman East have found them difficult to interpret? As we have seen, in the Roman East too, there were similar rocks inscribed with ancient drawings and writings that attracted the attention of local archaeophiles. Some of those rocks also formed part of funerary installations.⁹⁹

Regardless of what Strabo would have thought of the stelae, would an expert traveler have recognized local Iberian archaeophiles as his own intellectual peers? This seems unlikely. The shared cultural framework whereby temple wardens in Greece and Asia (such as those visited by Mucianus discussed in [Chapter 2](#)) derived authority was largely missing in Iberia. Nor were there the incontrovertible and monumental material legacy and historical structures that made priests in Egypt sought-after informants (as I have argued in the case of Julia Balbilla above). The matter of recognition deserves further comparative investigation: how did the attitudes of Roman period traveling experts towards local informants differ depending on geographic region?

Bruce Trigger warned that in most human societies, ruins and other such "remains were explained in terms of commonly held beliefs that in their specificity are usually unknown to us. Hence, to identify such interpretations as 'indigenous archaeology,' or even as precursors of archaeology, is to transgress the limits of inference."¹⁰⁰ Indeed, there is a serious risk in assuming that any engagement with an object that we recognize as old involved ancient awareness of that object's antiquity. And yet, provided that people in the past thought an object was old, and that archaeologists can demonstrate this, the question of our own capacity to reconstruct their memory horizons, the details of the narratives surrounding those objects, should become, I think, secondary.



5.7 Latin inscription by petroglyphs in Beyukdash, Gobustan National Park, Azerbaijan. (Photo David Braund.)

A Centurion among Petroglyphs by the Caspian Sea

I end at the opposite end of the Roman Empire.

At some point in the last few decades of the first century AD, a Roman centurion of the Twelfth Thunderstruck Legion left an unmistakable reminder of his presence on the western shores of the Caspian Sea, in what is now Gobustan National Park, about 50 kilometers southwest of modern Baku, Azerbaijan. At the foot of a mountain now called Beyukdash (“big stone” in Azeri), that centurion carved an inscription in inelegant and uneven, yet confident, letters (Figure 5.7). Apart from these words, there is no archaeological evidence of Roman soldiers having been in Gobustan.¹⁰¹

Under the emperor Domitian Caesar Augustus Germanicus – Lucius Julius Maximus of the Twelfth Thunderstruck Legion [carved this].¹⁰²

The content of his inscription is banal, and yet Lucius’s carving is occasionally mentioned in academic literature because it is among the easternmost monuments of the Roman Empire.¹⁰³ The inscription was first reported in the mid-twentieth century AD, but the few European scholars who initially wrote about it were confused about the carving’s location and the reasons for its existence. In 1983, Robert Heidenreich cleared up several misconceptions.¹⁰⁴ Scholars had initially argued, erroneously, that Lucius had

been stationed in Gobustan to secure a mountain pass through the famously forbidding Caucasus Mountains. However, they did so because they thought that the inscription was found not in its actual location, but north of Baku. They also conjectured, again erroneously, that the entire legion – and not just Lucius – had been stationed atop the Beyukdash mountain, rather than near the coast. Heidenreich pointed out those mistakes and, more recently, David Braund further illuminated matters by arguing that the centurion visited Beyukdash alone on a scouting mission, while his legion was stationed elsewhere in the Caucasus. Braund explained why Lucius had carved his text precisely where he had:

It seems well beyond simple coincidence that the inscription is scratched in an area (Gobustan) which is covered with prehistoric rock-carvings of many types (animals, men, the occasional boat etc.) ... Presumably the centurion had passed that way and seen such carvings and, having come down to the end of the mountains on the sea-coast, had paused to scratch his name and unit. On the coast he could expect his inscription to be read by passers-by, whereas up on the mountain it would be lost in the jumble of rocks and images.¹⁰⁵

The occasion as imagined by Braund is intriguing: a Roman soldier on an exploratory expedition in what was known by the Romans as Caucasian Albania, inspecting thousands of prehistoric petroglyphs, some dating to as early as the Upper Paleolithic.¹⁰⁶ Questions abound: what did Lucius make of those ancient carvings? Did the centurion recognize the petroglyphs as indices of the remote human past in the Caucasus? Did he know that those traces had been made hundreds of generations before him? More importantly, did he care? Whatever he thought, on those rocks Lucius saw countless images of wild animals: aurochs, deer, goats, horses, menacing big cats, and a boar chased by hounds. He saw also anthropomorphic creatures of various sorts and sizes: the occasional hunter with bow and arrow, humanoid figures seemingly dancing in unison, and others bearing what look like daggers and elaborate headgear (Figure 5.8).

Evidently, Lucius thought Beyukdash sufficiently noteworthy to leave a testimony of his visit. His jejune inscription may seem frustratingly open-ended as an example of Roman period archaeophilia, but we may still offer some suggestions about why the petroglyphs mattered to Lucius by juxtaposing this incident with analogous ones from elsewhere in the Roman world. The centurion's carving demonstrates, at the very least, that one of the results of Rome's imperialist ambitions was that soldiers – not just generals – had the chance of interacting with material remains of the past that they had never seen before. Some ancient experts (such as Pliny and Pausanias) would have tried to fit such monuments and objects into transcontinental historical narratives sometimes involving comparanda seen elsewhere, but many other people from across the social spectrum would have had much more local horizons.



5.8 Petroglyphs in Beyukdash, Gobustan National Park, Azerbaijan. (Photo Malahat Farajova.)

Local and foreign interest in the physical traces of the past in the Caucasus existed throughout antiquity. Lucius's carving can be combined with evidence attesting to other ancient interpreters interacting with even more ancient monuments in what are now eastern Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to demonstrate that. One can point, for instance, to passages in Hellenistic poetry that seem to make allusion to various pre-classical monuments in Colchis. Apollonius of Rhodes's *Argonautica*, for example, is a poem that frequently reflects on the existence of the physical traces of the past both in the time of the Argonauts and in Apollonius's own present. One example of such interest involves the shipbuilder Argus's brief account of cities founded in primordial times by an unnamed Egyptian conqueror, who had allegedly subjugated Asia and Europe. Some of those cities, he says, are still inhabited; others are not. Among the inhabited ones is Aea, in Colchis, home to men who "guard the inscribed pillars of their fathers, on which are preserved all the routes and limits of land and sea for those who travel around them."¹⁰⁷ Ancient scholiasts interested in this passage noted that perhaps what was written on the pillars were laws. One scholion suggests that Sesostris was behind Apollonius's description of the unnamed Egyptian ruler who left "maps" in Aea. Another mentions several other authors who also told his story, singling out Herodotus,

who famously associated the Bronze Age relief and inscriptions in Karabel with the Pharaoh Sesostriis (2.103). Could the inscribed stelae in Aea be petroglyphs or Bronze or Iron Age carvings? Whatever the answer to that question, many references in Hellenistic literature – I would argue – are the learned reflex of vernacular archaeophilia.¹⁰⁸ Closer collaboration between archaeologists and philologists would conceivably shed light on these allusions.

At the opposite end and somewhat past the end of the temporal spectrum that is my focus, the Armenian historian Moses Khorenatsi (whose dates are contested, but who probably wrote in the eighth century AD) transmits songs sung by the inhabitants of Lake Van in Late Antiquity telling of the exploits of a primeval giant called Tork‘:

They sang that [Tork‘] took in his fist hard stones in which there was no crack, and that he would crunch them into large and small pieces at will, and alter them with his nails, and form them into tablet shapes, and, also with his nails, that he would inscribe eagles and other such designs on them.¹⁰⁹

Various scholars (including Sergueenkova and me) have suggested that cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions are behind the tales of the “inscriptions” of Tork‘.¹¹⁰ When reading this passage, one cannot help but think of the many rock-cut cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions in Anatolia, or, more specifically, of monuments such as the Urartian temple of the god Haldi at Ayanis, by Lake Van, with its walls inscribed in deep Urartian cuneiform and large rock-cut figurative symbols and animals.¹¹¹

The Gobustan petroglyphs have been the recurrent site of cross-cultural encounters. Many visitors after Lucius did exactly as he did and inscribed on those rocks their own names in Arabic, Persian, and Azeri.¹¹² As happened also on the “throne” in Kızıldağ (Chapter 3), a carving in Gobustan incited other carvings over centuries and indeed millennia.¹¹³ Encounters among archaeophiles occurred not only diachronically (e.g., between Lucius and the people in prehistory who carved those images, or between later visitors to Gobustan and Lucius’s own inscription), but also synchronically. The evidence presented throughout this chapter makes it seem likely that it was a local guide who led Lucius there in the first place. The experience of the various foreign travelers who have seen the Gobustan petroglyphs over millennia may perhaps be illuminated with one of my own, which I attach as a coda to this chapter.

Coda: A Modern Archaeophile in the Borluk Valley

During archaeological survey work in Turkey, it has often been locals (shepherds, hunters, hikers, etc.) who have pointed out archaeological remains to my colleagues and me. I imagine this is not peculiar to the projects on

which I have worked. Frequently, those people have not only indicated the location of relevant traces of the past, but also provided accounts about the origins and meaning of such things. Occasionally, local archaeophiles have also explicitly shared with me how they have come to their conclusions or why they care to think about antiquities in the first place. No archaeologist working in the Mediterranean today would be as frank as the antiquarian Dodwell, quoted in [Chapter 2](#), who said openly that one should avoid paying attention to whatever locals have to say about antiquities.¹¹⁴ Yet there is still a widespread notion – especially among classical archaeologists – that one can learn very little about the past from people actually living among archaeological remains: knowledge is elsewhere.

On a recent trip to Kars (in eastern Turkey), I visited the local archaeological and ethnographic museum and saw a poster illustrating prehistoric petroglyphs in the vicinity of the city. Back in my hotel, I downloaded from the internet an academic article discussing some of those petroglyphs and decided to visit them with my traveling partner.¹¹⁵ Once we arrived in the village of Azat and began our search, it quickly became apparent that we were bound for failure. Although there were tourist signs pointing to the Borluk Valley as a site of archaeological interest and although the article had scholarly descriptions and images, once in the valley, we did not know where or what to look for exactly. As we hiked slowly upstream, overwhelmed by the size of the valley and the possibility of finding small and lightly carved animals on the valley walls, we encountered G. Ç., a knowledgeable shepherd from Azat who knew the place intimately. Mr. Ç. was familiar not only with dozens of drawings of animals ([Figure 5.9](#)), but also with local caves littered with prehistoric anthropogenic material. He also knew about rich scatters of obsidian flakes nearby, about abandoned hydraulic installations including canals and mills that had fallen into disrepair generations ago, about the former high-water line of the Borluk River, and about a nearby tell teeming with debris of ancient occupation, including ruined walls and abundant ceramic sherds. When it became clear that my partner and I would have to continue our journey, Mr. Ç. used photos stored on his cell phone to give us a quick virtual tour of his favorite traces of the past in parts of the valley we would not get to see.

On that day, Mr. Ç. was interested not in absolute dates or specific periods in the past – my partner and I learned from a weathered multilingual sign at the foot of the tell that the archaeological material on it dated from at least the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age – but rather in the long-term history of the place where he lives. He talked with confidence about the abundant evidence of the valley's former fertility, now diminished by industrial activity. He expressed concern about the damage that natural erosion and weathering are inflicting on the petroglyphs as well as frustration at their ongoing vandalizing on the part of a few visitors. He also reflected about the distribution of the different types of



5.9 Mr Ç. pointing to and explaining prehistoric petroglyphs in the Borluk Valley. (Photo by Sarah Newman.)

animal petroglyphs on specific places along the valley walls. Most of all, however, Mr. Ç. wanted local government officials in the archaeological museum in Kars to acknowledge him as a guardian of the Borluk Valley and its remains.

Mr. Ç. has thought about some of the basic questions underlying my investigation. Who gets to make history from things and how? What traces of the past are worth protecting and what memory horizons deserve investigation? His concerns are local, but it is not impossible for foreign visitors to Azat like me to find common ground with him and to allow room for difference. As an archaeologist working in Turkey, I too care about the preservation of the petroglyphs and other archaeological remains in the Borluk Valley, about how best to present them to the public, and about how to regulate the impact that industrial development has on archaeological landscapes. It is also the case that the past about which Mr. Ç. knows is not organized according to archaeological categories and periodizations – why should it be? As the anthropologist Keith Basso argued in a seminal book that explores Western Apache understanding of landscape: “Human attachments to places, as various and diverse as the places to which they attach, remain in their way, an enigma.”¹¹⁶ Perhaps – and yet, as Basso himself did in the case of the attachment to place of the Western Apache, and as I have tried to do throughout this book with a variety of archaeophiles in Roman Anatolia, it is possible to understand some

of the reasons that drive people to care about the places to which they are attached and perhaps even to share some of their passion. Evidently, Mr. Ç. knows more about the local traces of the past than many of the inhabitants of Azat and arguably more than anyone other than the few archaeologists who work there. As we hiked through the valley, we shared knowledge that occasionally overlapped, mine derived from academic training, his gained through daily interaction with traces of the past in which we were both interested.

THE PAST IN THINGS: ANCIENT ARCHAEOPHILIA AND MODERN ARCHAEOLOGY

... my interest lies not in judging the truth or falsehood of these or any other sciences, nor in discovering in them some part that might be useful or relevant to the present world, but simply in understanding how, why, where, and when they worked as functioning systems of thought and interacted with each other and with other systems of thought.¹

The historian of science David Pingree wrote these words in relation to ancient astronomy, mathematical theories, astral omens, astrology, magic, medicine, and law. I use them to clarify my aims in this book. I am not interested in judging ancient archaeophilia's truth or falsehood vis-à-vis modern archaeology. Rather, I have sought to understand how, why, where, and when it worked as a functioning system of thought in Roman Anatolia and, more generally, in Roman antiquity.

Relevant evidence is abundant, but fragmentary and dizzyingly diverse. Throughout this book I have combined mostly archaeological, literary, and epigraphic sources to make an argument whose force depends on the accumulation of incidents and on the constant counterpoint among them. Taken individually, many of the case studies I have examined above are too incomplete or too opaque to provide insight into historical specifics. Although I would like to know who the people were who buried their dead next to the figurative carvings in Karabur ([Chapter 2](#)), what sort of movements Craterus executed on the "throne" in Kızıldağ ([Chapter 3](#)), and whether Christian mountain-persons such as Ariadne were as interested in music as some of their predecessors seem to have been ([Chapters 3 and 4](#)), my principal aim has not

been to clinch such details. Frequently, semantic specifics have had to remain elusive. Nevertheless, I hope I have persuaded readers of the following related points.

Archaeophilia was pervasive throughout the Roman world. Some of its best-known manifestations are attested in Greek and Latin imperial literature, especially that associated with the Second Sophistic (including, notably, Pausanias), but interest in and knowledge about the physical traces of the past were very widespread socially and geographically. Such interest and knowledge cut across classes and continents and, just as importantly, involved very heterogeneous indices of former times. It should not be surprising, then, that the motivations, expectations, and hermeneutic strategies of different interpreters also varied. Many of the incidents I have discussed in this book involve authors whose writings now belong to the classical literary canon, monuments and objects that continue to be admired by countless tourists and coveted by art collectors throughout the world, and narratives about the ancient Mediterranean and Near East that are still studied as part of academic curricula across Europe and the Americas as well as in Turkey itself. And yet, I have also examined interpreters that do not look at all like early modern European antiquarians (much less modern archaeologists), traces of the past that would be out of place in major art museums (or museums of any other sort for that matter), and horizons that are starkly different from ones that seem almost self-evident to scholars working on the ancient Mediterranean today.

As I have conducted this investigation, I have occasionally reflected on how Roman archaeophilia is entangled with later systems of thought, including early modern antiquarianism and modern archaeology. I coined the neologism “archaeophilia” in order to distinguish ancient practices and discourses involving traces of the past from those of early modern European antiquarianism and modern archaeology;² and yet, the three phenomena are not totally unrelated. In calling the examples studied above instances of archaeophilia, as opposed to defining them as ancient antiquarianism or explaining them as an early manifestation of indigenous or alternative archaeologies, I attempted to capture some of their historical specificity. Historians of science have long exerted themselves to make similar distinctions.³ My aim was to understand Roman archaeophilia on its own terms, or at least not simply as a rudimentary and deficient expression of recent intellectual endeavors and present-day academic disciplines.

The incidents analyzed here are occurrences of a widespread human urge to explore and explain the past on the basis of its material remains. In Roman Anatolia, that urge was frequently manifest in situations of cultural contact brought about specifically by Roman imperial expansion. It was often informed, moreover, by the awareness on the part of both local and foreign archaeophiles that the histories of Rome and Anatolia were tightly intertwined, and that the Romans were not the first to exert imperial rule in the region.

Indeed, many archaeophiles knew that the men and women who had controlled (or attempted to control) Anatolia in former times had left conspicuous physical traces of their efforts. I wanted to understand how, why, where, and when the inhabitants of the peninsula in the Roman period interacted with those remains (and with whatever else they themselves recognized as meaningful indices of human antiquity), even if those people were not themselves antiquarians or archaeologists.

This said, however, I am sure readers also recognize that some aspects of Roman archaeophilia are part of the intellectual makeup of the modern disciplines of archaeology and history. Intellectuals such as Pliny and Pausanias went on to be identified as the forefathers of Western art history and archaeology, respectively, although many of their interlocutors, rivals, and peers did not. Indeed, the curious purge that has allowed Pliny and Pausanias to be singled out and proclaimed to be at the origins of these disciplines, while most of their interlocutors are passed over in silence (or explicitly dismissed as irrelevant), has a long history. Pliny and Pausanias themselves carried out similar purges. Aristocratic experts coalesced into interpretive communities partly by excluding others – even when those experts recognized the others as having privileged access to the traces of the past in which they themselves were interested.

As modern archaeologists and historians grow increasingly aware of the distinctiveness of ancient archaeophilia, it is also crucial to keep in mind the possibility of probing unexamined points of contact between various contemporary problems in archaeology, on the one hand, and archaeophilia as it was manifest in antiquity, on the other. In order to explore synergies between Roman archaeophilia and modern archaeology, we must overcome the pervasive presentism that informs the discipline. To think that human strategies of interpretation of the traces of the past were hermeneutically useful or even worthy of scholarly investigation *only* if modern archaeologists still recognize them as authoritative is myopic. Even when Roman archaeophilia did not give rise to the interpretive methods that modern scholars now accept as viable ways of producing archaeological knowledge, it still generated ways of producing knowledge about the traces of the past that people in the past considered viable. If we – modern archaeophiles who call ourselves archaeologists and historians – profess an interest in the things and people of the past, we cannot attend *only* to those things and people that remind us of ourselves and that involve our own favored indices of antiquity or modes of interactions. Indeed, by probing into the history of who and what were considered authoritative interpreters, traces, and horizons in the Roman world, we may be forced to reimagine our current role as explorers of the intersection between past time and present matter.

I hope that this book about Roman antiquity can stimulate classical archaeologists and historians, in particular, to question current practices and

to challenge the enduring intellectual, political, and cultural inequalities on which our fields are based. One obvious question of relevance is how to attend to people other than academics in the production of historical knowledge and, more specifically, knowledge about the physical traces of the past. It is not enough to realize that the history of exclusion of alternative discourses and practices is long – a matter of intense reflection nowadays, especially when the exclusion involves people in the present and in the recent past.⁴ The greater challenge is coming up with actual ways to overcome the systematic silencing and sidelining of key participants in the production of archaeological and historical knowledge.

I do not mean to suggest that everyone with an interest in ruins should publish articles in academic journals or deliver papers at academic conferences, but rather to encourage scholars working on the ancient Mediterranean to take seriously the opinions of others (both ancient and modern) who have been excluded from the discussion about what the past has been (and can still be). These men and women include not only the interlocutors of Mucianus, Pausanias, and Julia Balbilla, but also – and more urgently – those who live amidst classical and pre-classical ruins today, the people who excavate those ruins, the government officials who oversee archaeological projects, the local archaeologists with non-European and non-American academic credentials who have different intellectual backgrounds, excavation strategies, conservation priorities, and financial resources, the contemporary artisans and artists who have embodied knowledge of non-industrial production practices, and also, inevitably, looters and forgers. Dialogue with many of these specialists poses serious epistemological and ethical challenges. It is not an easy task, for instance, to disentangle the practical expertise of looters and forgers from the economic and cultural asymmetries that often lead people throughout the world to engage in looting and forgery.⁵ One initial step, however small, may be recognizing that looters and forgers too have valuable archaeological knowledge.⁶

Another matter of contemporary concern that this book illuminates involves the question: what is an archaeologically usable fact? As classical archaeology continues to drift away from aesthetic connoisseurship by incorporating ever more sophisticated scientific methods of probing the materiality of things (methods that seem to be obligatorily encoded in acronyms such as NAA, GC-MS, OSL, etc.),⁷ it is important to remember that that question – now as much as in other times – is inextricable from another with immediate academic, as well as political and ethical, implications: who gets to decide? This latter question concerns archaeologists, not only in relation to excavators, sifters, and pottery washers, but also in relation to the scientists, laboratory technicians, and remote-sensing specialists who find the data on which those archaeologists support their arguments. The data produced by those scientists,

technicians, and other such specialists is increasingly removed from the experiences of archaeologists in the field, from intimate historical knowledge about Greece or Rome, and from a connoisseur's familiarity with ceramic typologies or architectural styles. It is increasingly mediated by technologies that most archaeologists and historians only partially understand. As a result, the relevance and authority of archaeologists and historians are themselves in flux in the ever more science-dominated environment in which archaeology and history are practiced today in the Mediterranean – and beyond.

Some leading archaeologists and anthropologists are forcefully advocating for a holistic approach to the past, one that does not revolve exclusively around tactile and visual indices and attends rather to multi-modal sensorial and affective experiences.⁸ The possibility of an archaeology of the senses or of multi-modal sensorial engagements with archaeological evidence is exciting. It demands, among other things, a reconceptualization of the role of the archaeologist in the exploration of the past and its traces in the present. To my mind, one way to push these proposals forward is to do what I have done in this book: to acknowledge and explore the deep historical roots of the idea that the past can and should be explored multi-sensorially and through affective dynamic engagements. The inhabitants of remote towns throughout the Roman Mediterranean detected the olfactory traces of Prometheus and Philoctetes in clay and stone, but they were not alone: Pliny and Pausanias also thought they could smell the past ([Chapter 5](#)). Recent efforts in archaeology and anthropology to overcome the privileging of the eyes and hands in the study of former times will benefit from examining the deep history of alternative forms of interaction with the indices of antiquity, even if most archaeologists today do not usually engage in olfactory explorations of what has been.

Ultimately, I hope this study sets the stage for classical archaeologists and historians to undertake more intense comparison and collaboration than is usually tolerated in most classics departments. All of us interested in the past have at our disposal only infinitesimally small indices of human experience. Precisely because this is so, we should be talking to each other. And yet, the study of the ancient Mediterranean is still curiously fragmented academically, temporally, and geographically. There is little dialogue, for example, between scholars working in Iberia and those working in Turkey, or those working on the Anatolian Bronze Age and those working on early Christian Anatolia. Ever more detailed studies of the importance of the physical traces of the past in the past will continue to shed light on the intensity and sophistication of archaeophilia in the ancient world, but only comparison will clarify what was unique about it in specific times and places. How did engagements with local antiquities in the Roman Levant differ from engagements with local antiquities in Roman Gaul? The same question can be asked diachronically: how

was Roman period interest in the antiquities of Egypt different from medieval Muslim or eighteenth-century French and British interest in those same monuments? Comparison will also reveal commonalities which, in turn, may help map out more broadly applicable analytical strategies and theoretical approaches.

Do any of the incidents studied here fit into a global history of antiquarianism and archaeology? Or should they be treated as something altogether distinct and ultimately incommensurable with modern archaeology and even with early modern antiquarian ventures?⁹ As has been pointed out by Margarita Díaz-Andreu, the history of archaeology has been written almost solely by practicing archaeologists (as opposed to the history of science or the history of music, which have not been the exclusive domain of scientists and musicians). This monopoly has resulted in a tendency to accept a “narrow, almost positivistic understanding of what the writing of one’s own disciplinary history represents.”¹⁰ A narrow, positivistic disciplinary history of archaeology simply won’t do. We must strive to comprehend ancient and modern human experience in spite of its heterogeneity, or rather, precisely because of it. Our investigation can show that we – modern archaeologists and historians – are one distinct and now dominant voice in what has been a long, fractious, and continuous dialogue to make sense of the traces of the past in our midst. The dialogic aspect of this process is inevitable, even if many of the people who have participated as interlocutors in the production of knowledge about the past are rarely acknowledged by either practicing archaeologists or historians of the discipline.

No discourse about how the past was or is embedded in things has ever developed in isolation from alternative, often conflicting, interpretations. If a comparative history of archaeological and antiquarian thought is worth undertaking at all, then it should also attend to ideas that are radically different from those dominant at the moment of writing that history. We owe such ideas our attention not simply out of encyclopedic duty, but rather because our own archaeological traditions came to be as they are in productive tension with many others that have been banished to obscurity. The presentist biases of modern Western archaeology should not be allowed to determine what has counted as an index of former times in other times and places, who has been able to interpret such indices, and much less how people have imagined their connection to their own pasts.

Archaeophilia, I am convinced, should be part of the history of archaeology and antiquarianism, not as some sort of inchoate precursor, but rather because both archaeology and antiquarianism are recent and peculiar expressions of it. *The Pasts of Roman Anatolia* suggests some ways in which scholars can begin to conceive of that expansive and inclusive project: a less self-centered history of archaeology and antiquarianism in Anatolia and beyond. What I hope to have

done in this book is not to add a footnote to the brief chapter at the beginning of global histories of archaeology that deals with pre-Renaissance and non-European practices, but rather to show that antiquarianism and archaeology are themselves brief chapters in a much longer history of archaeophilia.

NOTES

I INTRODUCTION

- 1 E.g., Latacz 2004, with Katz 2005, who provides a critical assessment of the book's value from the perspective of a linguist. For a recent and wide-ranging exploration of the relationship between the Homeric poems and archaeology: Sherratt and Bennet 2017.
- 2 Mayor 2000.
- 3 Centaurs: Pausanias 10.38.2; clay of Prometheus: Pausanias 10.4.4; both discussed in detail in Rojas and Sergueenkova 2017. See also the section entitled “Connoisseurs of Necrocorinthia in Greece and Rome” in Chapter 5 below.
- 4 On the (so-called Wadi B) temple: Ratté, Howe, and Foss 1986; Burrell 2004:100–103; Greenewalt 2006:176 and 2007:744–745. On the date of its destruction: Cahill and Greenewalt 2016:505.
- 5 On the mace head: Greenewalt 2007:746. The mace head does not need to have traveled far to get to the Wadi B Temple. Recent excavations on the hills and terraces overlooking that temple have begun to reveal Late Bronze Age strata.
- 6 Pausanias 3.22.4: καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τριάκοντα προελθόντι που σταδίου ἐπὶ θαλάσσης πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀκριαί· θεᾶς δὲ αὐτόθι ἄξια Μητρός θεῶν ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα λίθου. παλαιότατον δὲ τοῦτο εἶναι φασιν οἱ τὰς Ἀκρίας ἔχοντες, ὅποσα τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης Πελοποννησίοις ἱερά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ Μάγνησί γε, οἱ τὰ πρὸς Βορρᾶν νέμονται τοῦ Σιπύλου, τούτοις ἐπὶ Κοδδίνου πέτρᾳ Μητρός ἐστὶ θεῶν ἀρχαιότατον ἀπάντων ἄγαλμα· ποιῆσαι δὲ οἱ Μάγνητες αὐτὸ Βροτέαν λέγουσι τὸν Ταντάλου.
- 7 On the monument in Akpınar: Kohlmeyer 1983:28–34; Spanos 1983; André-Salvini and Salvini 1996 and 2003; Ehringhaus 2005:84–87.
- 8 Steuart (1842:1–2) was conflating two passages of Pausanias involving antiquities found on Mount Sipylus: the one quoted above and 1.21.3, where Pausanias mentions the remains of the petrified Niobe.
- 9 On Pausanias as connoisseur: Arafat 1992; Elsner 2007:49–66.
- 10 Thucydides 1.9.2; Hellanicus *FGHist* 4 F157.
- 11 On the ancient reception of the monument in Akpınar: Zwingmann 2012:250–257; Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014:151–155; Sánchez Hernández 2016. Two Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions near that monument attest to the spot's cultural significance already in the Bronze Age: Güterbock and Alexander 1983; Ehringhaus 2005:87. At least one of these inscription names a “prince.” It is not possible to determine exactly whether these texts pre-date or post-date the statue.
- 12 The Hermus River is known in Turkish as Gediz Nehri. In Hittite texts its valley seems to have been called Seha River land (KUR ÍD ŠE-E-HA).
- 13 On Anatolia as a modern cultural construct: Bilsel 2007.
- 14 Hewsen 2001, a historical atlas of Armenia, concisely illustrates the turbulent history as well as the shifting political geography of much of what is now eastern Turkey from prehistory to the present.
- 15 A selection of English-language article titles spanning much of the past century demonstrates the indulgent use of these terms by specialists: “Archaeologists in Antiquity” (Van Buren 1925), “The Greeks and Romans as Archeologists” (Wace 1949), “Thucydides

- as Archaeologist” (Cook 1955), “Babylonian Archaeologists of the(ir) Mesopotamian Past” (Winter 2000), and “Ancient Greek Archaeology” (Higbie 2006).
- 16 Momigliano (1950) remains seminal on European antiquarianism; the quoted passage is taken from p. 285. More recently: Sweet 2004; Miller 2017.
 - 17 On parallels between Chinese and European “antiquarianisms”: Clunas 1991 and von Falkenhausen 2015, who engages directly with Momigliano. On Chinese perceptions of the past: Kuhn and Stahl 2008. An ambitious investigation of “past-referencing in the high-civilizations of the ancient world”: Kuhn and Stahl 2001.
 - 18 I have suggested elsewhere (Rojas 2017) that scholars interested in the study of the past in the past could avoid anachronism and related distortions by making use of this neologism.
 - 19 Intellectual historians working on antiquarianism in more recent periods have also called attention to the importance of recognizing such heterogeneity and complexity: e.g., Miller 2017:3.
 - 20 Pre-Columbian Mesoamerica: Hamann 2002; López Luján 2017; Ming China: Clunas 1991; prehistoric Europe: Bradley 2002.
 - 21 Neolithic: Hodder 2006:141–168; Seljuk sultans: Redford 1993.
 - 22 For my own reflections on the challenges of comparative analysis of “antiquarian” practices in the Mediterranean, colonial Latin America, and beyond: Anderson and Rojas 2017. See also: Schnapp 2013; Murray 2014.
 - 23 Historians of science have long championed similar approaches: e.g., Pingree 1992, a seminal article in the history of science that informed this investigation; Daston 2009; Shapin 2010:42.
 - 24 As far as I am concerned, however, the burden of proof rests on scholars who claim that there are or have been communities of people *wholly* uninterested in the physical traces of the past, e.g., González-Ruibal 2017.
 - 25 On Roman period interaction with pre-classical monumental remains in the Mediterranean, see, e.g., Alcock and Cherry 2006 (Mycenaean tomb); Rutherford 2003 (Egyptian temples); Curran et al. 2009:35–59 (Egyptian obelisks); Díaz-Guardamino, García Sanjuán, and Wheatley 2015 (dolmens, menhirs, and similar artifacts in Europe); Blake 1998 (nuraghi).
 - 26 Already in the Bronze Age, the Hittites themselves interacted with and wrote about landscapes of ruins in Anatolia. A trilingual lexical list found in Hattusas glosses the Sumerogram URU DU⁶ as Akkadian *tillu* and Hittite *pupulli*–; the last word means “ruin–heap, tell”: Weeden 2011:195–196. On Hittite interaction with the ruins of earlier Bronze Age settlements: Bachhuber 2014:295. More generally, on the conceptualization of tells in ancient Near Eastern mythology: Suriano 2012.
 - 27 On the importance of Troy as a memory horizon in both the Greek and Roman historical imagination: Erskine 2001; on its role in both the ancient and the modern European historical imagination: Mac Sweeney 2018; on its role in Late Ottoman traditions: Uslu 2017; on specifically Greek and Roman interest in material remains at Troy: Zwingmann 2012:29–106.
 - 28 On conflicting memory horizons about the origins of Rome in Rome: Rodríguez Mayorgas 2010.
 - 29 I explore the issue of multiple memory horizons in Roman Anatolia in Chapter 4 below.
 - 30 On the entanglement of German politics and archaeology at the site of Troy (under both Schliemann and then, much more recently, Manfred Korfinann): Haubold 2017.
 - 31 As is clear from a note entitled “Antique Sculptures in Asia Minor” published in the *Illustrated London News* on January 31, 1880.
 - 32 E.g., Perrot 1890:39–72.
 - 33 On the recurrence of the notions of “rediscovery” and “rescue” in the narratives of expert archaeophiles ancient and modern, see the conclusion of Chapter 4 and the section entitled “Cicero and the Tomb of Archimedes in Sicily” in Chapter 5 below.

- 34 On the complex role of the Hittites and Hittite material culture in the nationalistic discourses of the early Turkish Republic: Atakuman 2008; on that of the Urartians and Urartian material culture in nineteenth- and twentieth-century AD Armenian nationalism: Kohl and Tsatskhelidze 1995:157–158; Khatchadourian 2008:268–270.
- 35 On the history of Urartian archaeology: Salvini 1995:5–14. On the decipherment of Hittite: Beckman 2011:517–522; on the early history of Hittite archaeology: Seeher 2002.
- 36 In 1932, the historian and sociologist Afet İnan, daughter of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of the modern Republic of Turkey, explained the relationship between Hittites and Turks thus: “It is also necessary to acknowledge one more thing, and that is the fact that our ancient Hittites, our ancestors, were the first indigenous owners of our country. Thousands of years ago, they established this land as their homeland, instead of their motherland [in Central Asia]. They transported the center of the Turks from the Altai Mountains to Anatolia and Thrace. The unbreakable rocks of this homeland are among the unshakable foundations of the Turkish Republic.” Translation taken from Atakuman 2008:221.
- 37 The “Hittite Sun Course Monument” (Hitit Güneş Kursu Anıtı in Turkish) is a monumental copy of a standard found in the 1930s in the Royal Tombs of Alaca Höyük, near Hattusas. The monument was erected on Ankara’s Atatürk Boulevard in 1978 and quickly became an urban landmark as well as a symbol of the secular ideals of the Turkish Republic, proudly claiming a pre-Islamic past rooted in Anatolia. On the recent biography of the monument: Kılınç 2017.
- 38 Since the mid-1990s, municipal leaders (including the long-serving and pugnacious mayor of Ankara, Melih Gökçek) have been vociferous about their antipathy towards the “Hittite Sun Course Monument” and the use of Hittite imagery in the city.
- 39 “Hittite” kings make appearances in the Bible (e.g., in Kings 7:6 where they cause havoc in Syria); presumably the people in question are actually Neo-Hittite or Luwian rulers. On Hittites in the Bible: Bryce 2004:354–556; Singer 2006.
- 40 Van Dyke and Alcock 2003:2.
- 41 I have collected and analyzed textual and material evidence of Greek, Roman, and later interest in rock-cut monuments in Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014 and Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 42 Two examples of such translations: Herodotus (2.106.5) claimed to know the content of what modern archaeologists now describe as a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription usually identified as that on the modern Karabel pass. About a century later, the historian Aristobolus (*BNJ* 139 F 9b=Strabo 14.5.9) offered a rendering of an inscription “in Assyrian letters” on a monument near Tarsus that allegedly depicted the semi-mythical Assyrian king Sardanapalus. For an extended discussion of these passages: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 43 Laluk 2017 is an insightful and provocative contribution to recent scholarship on the challenges of integrating these voices and archaeological discourses. See also Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem 2011; González-Ruibal 2014; Anderson 2015; Cabral 2016; Rojas 2017; Todd 2017.
- 44 Scholarship on the Second Sophistic is immense. Two seminal studies: Bowersock 1969 and Bowie 1970; a relatively recent synthesis: Whitmarsh 2005. See also: Richter and Johnson 2017.
- 45 Elsner 2001; Lightfoot 2002; Andrade 2013.
- 46 Borg 2004 is an important exception to the general neglect of material evidence by scholars working on the Second Sophistic. It is characteristic of the field that the recent *Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (Richter and Johnson 2017) deals almost exclusively with textual evidence.
- 47 Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 48 On the use of the term “Hittite” in antiquity and on alleged ruptures severing the populations of Greek and Roman Anatolia from those who lived in the region in the Bronze Age, see the conclusions of Chapter 4 below.
- 49 Two thematically organized books about related topics have served me as models: Clunas 1991 on antiquarianism in Ming China, and Lloyd 2014 on scientific investigations in ancient Mesopotamia, India, China, and Greece.

2 INTERPRETERS

- 1 Momigliano 1950:286.
- 2 Miller 2007; von Falkenhausen 2015.
- 3 Momigliano 1950:285; Sweet 2004; Miller 2017.
- 4 In ancient Greek, the word ἀρχαιολογία (*archaeologia*), often translated as “antiquarianism,” is the learned reconstruction of local prehistory, primarily attested in prose and especially for local consumption. Plato (*Hippias Major* 285d–e.) uses this term to describe the lectures by the sophist Hippias of Elis in the late fifth or early fourth century BC. While the primary focus of *archaeologia* was on the genealogies and first founders of cities, peoples, and families, even Hippias, the paradigmatic Greek expert in ἀρχαιολογία, was himself a connoisseur of *things*. According to Philostratus in *Lives of the Sophists* (ed. Kayser) 1.11=BNJ T 4, Hippias even lectured on statues and drawings. What modern archaeologists would call “material culture” was thus also part of ἀρχαιολογία. The most famous example of this is Thucydides 1.8, where the historian reflects about Carian history incited by “archaeological” evidence excavated from tombs during the purification of the island of Delos. This passage is cited almost *de rigueur* by historians of archaeology. Thucydides also makes historical arguments based on material evidence elsewhere, e.g., at 1.10 (on the traces that Athens and Sparta would leave if abandoned) and 2.15 (on the historical topography of Athens). Strabo (10.2.9) uses the adjective ἀρχαιολογικώτεροι (in the comparative degree) to refer to people who were “more knowledgeable (than most others) about old matters,” concerning specifically poetry.
- 5 Gell 1804:47.
- 6 Vermeule 1995: a diachronic survey of visitors to Troy; Zwingmann (2012:29–106) is a detailed assessment of the ancient literary evidence; see also Günay 2017, Mac Sweeney 2018 and the section entitled “Imperial Archaeophilia in the Troad” below in this chapter.
- 7 Lucan *Pharsalia* 9.964–969, with expansions in parentheses to clarify mythological and other references: *circumit exustae nomen memorabile Troiae | magnaue Phoebei quaerit vestigia muri. | iam silvae steriles et putres robore trunci | Assaraci pressere domos et templa deorum | iam lassa radice tenent, ac tota teguntur | Pergama dumetis: etiam periire ruinae. | aspicit Hesiones scopulos silvaeque latentes | Anchisae thalamos; quo iudex sederit antro, | unde puer raptus caelo, quo vertice Nais | luxerit Oenone: nullum est sine nomine saxum. | inscius in sicco serpentem pulvere rivum | transierat, qui Xanthus erat. Securus in alto | gramine ponebat gressus: Phryx incola manes | Hectoreos calcare vetat. Discussa iacebant | saxa nec ullius faciem servantia sacri: | “Herceas” monstrator ait “non respicis aras?”*
- 8 On the lax use of the term “Phrygian” by various classical authors: Jones 1994:205–207.
- 9 I discuss the issue at greater length in [Chapter 5](#).
- 10 Bartsch 1997:132.
- 11 Rossi 2001:315: “Caesar aims at fashioning his own ‘tale’ from the ruins of the now decayed city, which, in Lucan’s imagery, is representative simultaneously of Troy and Rome. After the victory of Pharsalus, Caesar, in Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*, is no longer solely a character of Lucan’s tale. In his visit to Troy, he takes up a new and more insidious role. He himself becomes the writer of the tale of the past and eventually the founder of a new city.”
- 12 Pratt (1992:4) defined contact zones as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination – like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths.”
- 13 Tacitus *Historiae* 1.10.2: *cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium quam obtinere*.
- 14 Traina 1987 provides a detailed overview and interpretation of Mucianus’s career and interests.
- 15 Baldwin 1995:300.
- 16 E.g., Ash 2007; Higbie 2017:199.
- 17 My own reflections on Mucianus as an expert interpreter of antiquities are indebted to Williamson, whose translations of Pliny I quote here where indicated.

- 18 Williamson 2005:240.
- 19 Livy 45.27–28. Among the sites visited by Aemilius Paulus on that occasion were an entrance to the underworld in Lebadia, the harbor of Agamemnon in Aulis, and a sanctuary of Asclepius in Epidaurus, where, according to Livy, Paulus saw many votive offerings that were no longer extant when Livy was writing.
- 20 Syme (1958:195) described him as a “voluptuary in times of leisure.” On Maronean wine: Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 14.54=Williamson 23; on oysters: Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 32.62=Williamson 29.
- 21 See index s.v. *embodied archacophilia*.
- 22 On editing texts: Tacitus *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 37.2.
- 23 On *antiquarius*: Mayer 2001:157 commenting on Tacitus *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 21.4.
- 24 Translation by Williamson, slightly altered. Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 19.12=Williamson 25: *mirentur hoc ignorantes in Aegypti quondam regis, quem Amasim vocant, thorace in Rhodiorum insula Lindi in templo Minervae CCCLXV filis singula fila constare, quod se expertum nuperrime prodidit Mucianus ter cos. parvasque iam reliquias eius superesse hac experientium iniuria*.
- 25 Herodotus 3.47.1–3.
- 26 Williamson 2005:243.
- 27 Traina 1987, especially pp. 391–392 and the useful appendix 2 on “modality of citation” on pp. 404–405; Baldwin 1995.
- 28 Translation by Williamson. Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 13.88=Williamson 22: *praeterea Mucianus ter cos. prodidit nuper se legisse, cum praesideret Lyciae, Sarpedonis ab Troia scriptam in quodam templo epistulae chartam, quod eo magis miror, si etiamnum Homero condente Aegyptus non erat*.
- 29 Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 13.74–89, with Healy 1999:358–359.
- 30 OLD s.v. *codicillus* 2.
- 31 Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 13.88: *aut cur, si iam hic erat usus, in plumbeis linteisque voluminibus scriptitatum constet, curve Homerus in illa ipsa Lycia Bellerophonti codicillos datos, non epistulas, tradiderit?*
- 32 Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 34.36=Williamson 30, which is followed by: *quis ista mortaliū persequi possit aut quis usus noscendi* (“what man would want to pursue such matters and of what use would it be to know?”).
- 33 Appian *Bellum Civile* 4.10.79, with Zwingmann 2012:288–290.
- 34 SEG 62–840: Ἀρτεμίδωρος Δημητρίου Παπᾶς, τῶν τῆς πόλεως στρατηγῶν ἐπιμεληθεὶς ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὸ γραμματῆον τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ τῆς ἀσυλίας αὐτῶν καὶ τῇ[s] ἱκεσίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἀτελῆας ἐμφ[α]νίσας Γυνῶ Λέντλῳ Αὔγορι τῷ ἀνθυπ[ά]τῳ καὶ ἀποδοὺς <τ>ὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολὴν<v>. Text and translation Rigsby 1996: 404–405; see also Lane Fox 2006. Much more generally, on (local and universal) history and historians attested epigraphically, see Chaniotis 1988.
- 35 The archive wall in Aphrodisias is discussed in the section entitled “Asianics in Aphrodisias” in Chapter 4.
- 36 On the use of ancient historical documents by Anatolian cities in their dealings with Roman officials: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017b:271–276.
- 37 The epistles of historical rulers were sometimes publicly invoked during such encounters. For instance, in the early second century AD, in Magnesia on the Maeander, a letter (SEG 26–1291) purportedly written by the Persian king Darius to one Gadatas was either re-carved or newly forged; that letter affirmed the venerability of a local cult of Apollo, possibly to coincide with a visit by the emperor Hadrian. On the occasion: Lane Fox 2006:156–157, who offers the most recent defense of the document’s authenticity; a more cautious defense: Tuplin 2009: 166–168; against its authenticity: Briant 2003 (with exhaustive earlier bibliography); see also Gauger 2000: 205–212.
- 38 On ancient documentary forgeries: Chaniotis 2015. More generally, on the history of textual forgery in the west, see Grafton 1990 and the seminal work of Speyer 1971.

- 39 We know of such intentional material manipulations of texts from epigraphic evidence. Rife (2008), for instance, discusses inscriptions carved in deliberately archaizing script and dialect associated with the Roman archaeophile Herodes Atticus.
- 40 Translation by Williamson, very slightly modified. Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 16.213–215=Williamson 24: *maxime aeternam putant hebenum et cupressum cedrumque, claro de omnibus materiis iudicio in templo Ephesiae Dianae, utpote cum tota Asia extruente CXX annis peractum sit. convenit tectum eius esse e cedrinis trabibus. de simulacro ipso deae ambigitur. ceteri ex hebeno esse tradunt, Mucianus III cos. ex iis, qui proxime viso eo scripsere, vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto templo, hanc materiam elegerit Endoeon, etiam nomen artificis nuncupans, quod equidem miror, cum antiquiorem Minerva quoque, non modo Libero patre, vetustatem ei tribuat. adicit multis foraminibus nardo rigari, ut medicatus umor alat teneatque iuncturas – quas et ipsas esse modico admodum miror – valvas esse e cupresso et iam CCCC prope annis durare materiem omnem novae similem. id quoque notandum, valvas in glutinis compage quadriennio fuisse.*
- 41 On ancient perceptions of this statue: Zwingmann 2012:162–166.
- 42 Pausanias 3.22.4 (discussed in Chapter 1).
- 43 Williamson 2005:221; Ash 2007:6–7.
- 44 For an extended critique of the neglect of the senses in modern archaeology and a programmatic call to change direction: Hamilakis 2014.
- 45 In the passage immediately following the one just quoted in the *Naturalis Historia* (16.213–215), Pliny invokes the juniper beams of the temple of Diana in Saguntum (Iberia) as proof of its being earlier than the Trojan wars. Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 16.216 with Johnston 2017:157. Pliny gleaned this information from the local Iberian archaeophile Bocchus. One of the reasons wood repeatedly attracted attention as a historical index was surely the fact that its physical transformation could be witnessed within a single human lifetime, in contradistinction, for example, to hard stones such as marble or granite.
- 46 Pausanias (1.15.4). The shields in question had belonged to Spartans at the battle of Sphacteria (425/424 BC); they would have been more than half a millennium old when Pausanias saw them. On the conservation of paintings: Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 35.123.
- 47 Williamson 21=Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 12.9. On the tree: Zwingmann 2012:354.
- 48 Williamson 2005:244: “Mucianus’ visits – even if we wish to class them as tourism – were very much about an autoptic experience of wonder, a wonder prepared by Herodotus and Homer and actually experienced in Mucianus’ contact with relics.”
- 49 Similar interest in an object’s life story is attested among other Roman art connoisseurs. Vitruvius (2.8.9–10), for instance, records that in Sparta, frescoes painted on mudbrick were excised from their original location, mounted on wooden frames, and transported to the *comitium* in Rome “as ornaments for the aedileship of Varro and Murena.” Bergmann (1995:89) argued that some Romans valued artworks for incidental factors rather than their inherent qualities; in relation to Varro and Murena’s plunder, she noted that, according to Pliny, it was not the intrinsic beauty of the frescoes as much as their “history of migration” that made them worthy of wonder.
- 50 Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 9.79=Williamson 17: *Mucianus muricem esse latiore purpura, neque aspero neque rotundo ore neque in angulos prodeunte rostro, sed sicut concha utroque latere sese colligente, quibus inhaerentibus plenam venti stetisse navem portantem nuntios a Periandro, ut castrarentur, nobiles pueros conchasque, quae id praestiterint, apud Cnidiorum Venerem coli.* “Mucianus states that the murex is broader than the purple and has a mouth that is not rough nor round, and a beak that does not stick out into corners, but is stuck together like a bivalve shell, and that owing to murexes clinging to the sides a ship was brought to a standstill when in full sail before the wind, carrying dispatches from Periander ordering some noble youths to be castrated, and that the shell-fish that rendered this service are worshipped in the shrine of Venus at Knidos.” (Translation by Williamson.)
- 51 Herodotus 3.48; Plutarch *De malignitate Herodoti* 22.
- 52 Jones 2001 collects and discusses relevant passages, including the one analyzed in detail in this section.

- 53 Pausanias 1.35.7–8: τὸ δ' ἐμοὶ θαῦμα παρασχόν, Λυδίας τῆς ἄνω πόλις ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη Τημένου θύραι· ἐνταῦθα παραραγέντος λόφου διὰ χειμῶνα ὅστ' ἔφάνη τὸ σχῆμα παρέχοντα ἐς πίστιν ὡς ἔστιν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπεὶ διὰ μέγεθος οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἔδοξεν. αὐτίκα δὲ λόγος ἤλθεν ἐς τοὺς πολλοὺς Γηρυόνη τοῦ Χρυσάρορος εἶναι μὲν τὸν νεκρόν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὸν θρόνον· καὶ γὰρ θρόνος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐνεργασμένος ὁρους λιθῶδει προβολῇ· καὶ χεῖμαρρόν τε ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν ἐκάλουν καὶ βοῶν ἥδη κέρασιν ἔφασάν τινας ἐντυχεῖν ἀροῦντας, [διότι ἔχει λόγος βοῦς ἀρίστας θρέψαι τὸν Γηρυόνην.] ἐπεὶ δὲ σφισιν ἐναντιούμενος ἀπέφαινον ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι Γηρυόνην, οὗ μνημα μὲν οὐ, δένδρον δὲ παρεχόμενον διαφόρους μορφάς, ἐνταῦθα οἱ τῶν Λυδῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν ὄντα ἐδείκνυσαν λόγον, ὡς εἴη μὲν ὁ νεκρὸς Ὑλλου, παῖς δὲ Ὑλλος εἴη Γῆς, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς ὠνομάσθη· Ἡρακλέα δὲ διὰ τὴν παρ' Ὀμφάλλῃ ποτὲ ἔφασαν δίαταν Ὑλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καλέσαι τὸν παῖδα.
- 54 I examine the Kızıladağ monument in detail in the section entitled “Dancing on the “Throne” in Lycaonia” in [Chapter 3](#).
- 55 Habicht 1998:13–15 with a list of relevant passages on p. 15, n. 66. See also the section entitled “‘Signs’ of the Tantalids on Mount Sipylus” in [Chapter 3](#).
- 56 Pratt 1992:7 specifically defines auto-ethnography as “instances in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with the colonizer’s own terms.” As far as I am aware, the first use of the term “auto-ethnographer” to define Pausanias, or any other Greek or Roman author for that matter, is Alcock 1996.
- 57 Calder 1991:66.
- 58 Habicht 1998:29.
- 59 Dodwell 1819, II:403–404 cited in Pretzler 2007:135.
- 60 Jones 2001:36.
- 61 In [Chapter 1](#), for instance, I discussed the contrast Pausanias draws between an old statue he was shown in the Peloponnese and the colossal one on Mount Sipylus. Similarly, when inspecting a statue in the temple of Ismenian Apollo at Thebes, Pausanias makes an attribution based on stylistic comparison with a different statue held in Didyma (9.1.2); on the latter passage: Elsner 2007:54.
- 62 Artemidorus of Daldis *Oneirocritica* 2.70: καὶ γὰρ εἶναι τινα Λυδοῖς προσενίαν πρὸς Φοίνικας οἱ τὰ πάτρια ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενοί φασιν. “And indeed, those who expound matters about our fatherland say that the Lydians had a relationship of guest-friendship with the Phoenicians.”
- 63 Libanius 11.229 (translation Downey 1959:677): καὶ νῦν ὀρύσσοντί σοι τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τῷ κρητῖδα βαλέσθαι πάντως ἵχνος τι τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπαντᾷ, καὶ πολλοὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἀνθ' ὧν διεννοοῦντο χρησάμενοι τᾶλλα προσφέροντες ἐπ'ωκοδόμουν. See also: Dio Chrysostom 7.39 (in a once urban setting). Such encounters are common throughout the world. Artifacts recovered by plowmen have regularly incited archaeological reflection even if their excavators have not usually been recognized by archaeologists as part of the process of historical reconstruction. This last point has been made by Woolf (2003:15) in relation to the recovery of the physical traces of the past in early modern England. See also: Clunas 1991:93 on how “the natural progress of agriculture and grave building, together with the organized grave-robbing” may have had an impact on Ming antiquarian practices.
- 64 See my discussion of the ancient excavation of the theater mound in Aphrodisias in the section entitled “Asianics in Aphrodisias” in [Chapter 4](#).
- 65 Rojas 2013.
- 66 Hanfmann and Ramage 1978:21, 33–34 concluded that the re-erection occurred in the second or third century AD. While there is little doubt that it did not happen earlier, since the major renovation efforts in the sanctuary and temple are Antonine or later, this and other re-erections in the sanctuary could have been carried out conceivably as late as the fourth century AD.
- 67 Butler 1922:126.
- 68 Hanfmann dated the recumbent lion to circa 550–540 BC and the sejant lion to circa 500 BC; in the case of the eagle, for which comparanda were scarce, he ventured only a “Late Archaic” date. On these objects, Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: cat. no. 236, figs. 407–408;

- sitting lion, cat. no. 235, figs. 405–406; eagle, cat. no. 238, figs. 413–415. On the recumbent lion, see also Ratté 1989: cat. no. A57.
- 69 Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: cat. no. 274, figs. 456–466.
- 70 On the text: Gusmani 1964–1986:259, no. 20. The other Lydian–Greek bilingual inscription was on a column drum from the temple of Athena at Pergamum: Gusmani 1964–1986:264, no. 40.
- 71 Recumbent lion: Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4028; sitting lion: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.59.9; eagle: Istanbul, Archaeological Museum 4032.
- 72 I discuss this statue and its Roman period interpreters in the section entitled “Athletes by a Hittite Giant in Pisidia” in this chapter, below.
- 73 Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975:20.
- 74 Herodotus 1.84=Pedley 1972: no. 116.
- 75 Meles failed to drive the lion cub around the entire acropolis and eventually the Persians breached the fortifications where Meles had been negligent. Apollonius of Tyana, Letter 75, with the relevant note in Jones 2006:69 n. 102 (and p. 6 on Apollonius’ familiarity with life in Roman Sardis). Apollonius also invoked the Lydia of old in another letter concerning civic strife in the city (Letter 56).
- 76 LGPN s.v. Νανός, Νάννιον, and Διονισκυλῆς.
- 77 Hanfmann and Waldbaum 1975:66–73.
- 78 Butler 1922:41–43.
- 79 E.g., Buckler and Robinson 1932=Sardis VII, 1.52.II.2, 1.53.2, 1.54.I.2, 1.54.II.2. See also Gusmani 1964–1986: s.v. *kave-*; note that the sixth-century BC poet Hipponax (3.1 ed. Degani) also uses the word, which is etymologically related to Avestan *kauuā-* and Sanskrit *kavi-* “seer.”
- 80 The sixth-century AD intellectual John Lydus claimed (*De Mensibus* 3.20) that even in his own day most people in Sardis called the year “Σάρδιν” (“Sardin”), which he explained numerically: σ (200) + α (1) + ρ (100) + δ (4) + ι (10) + ν (50) = 365. This kabbalistic etymologizing smacks of Neo-Platonism. And yet, the surprising assertion that people called the year Σάρδιν is probably the result of the lasting impact not of Lydian, but of an Iranian language (cf. Avestan *sared* – meaning “year”) on the speech habits of some of the inhabitants of the city. At any rate, that claim attests to the lasting cultural relevance of regional linguistic information among some early Byzantine scholars.
- 81 Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 6.9.17 with Penella 1990:141–145.
- 82 Penella 1990:141.
- 83 Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 23.4.1–3: Τοῦ δὲ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐκνικῶντος ἔργου καὶ κατέχοντος ἅπαντα, διὰ μακροῦ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης εἰσφοίτησεν ἄρχων τῆς Ἀσίας (Ἰούστος ὠνομάζετο), πρεσβύτης μὲν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, γενναῖος καὶ ἄλλως τὸ ἥθος, καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας καὶ πατρίου πολιτείας οὐκ ἀπηλλαγμένος, ἀλλὰ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ μακάριον ἐκείνον ἐζηλωκῶς τρόπον, πρὸς τε ἱεροῖς ἦν ἀεὶ, καὶ μαντείας ἐξεκρέματο πάσης, μέγα φρονῶν ὅτι τοῦτων ἐπεθύμησέν τε καὶ κατῴρωσεν. Οὗτος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβὰς ἐκ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ ἔθνους καταλαβὼν (Ἰλάριος ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο) συγκορυβαντιῶντα πρὸς τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, βωμούς τε ἀνέστησεν αὐτοσχεδίου ἐν Σάρδεσιν (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτόθι), καὶ τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῶν ἱερῶν, εἴπου τι ἴχνος εὐρέθη, χεῖρα ἐπέβαλεν, ἀνορθῶσαι βουλόμενος.
- 84 Chrysanthius had taught both Eunapius and the future emperor Julian. Eventually, Chrysanthius avoided intimate associations with Julian, even refusing to go to the court after twice being summoned (once through his own wife, Melite); see Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 13.2.3–6.
- 85 Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 23.2.7–8: ὁ δὲ Χρυσάνθιος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους λαβὼν, καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἐξεπιστάμενος σαφῶς, οὐ βαρὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὔτε τοὺς νεῶς ἐγείρων, ὥσπερ ἅπαντες θερμῶς καὶ περικαῶς ἐς ταῦτα συνέθεον, οὔτε λυπῶν τινος τῶν χριστιανῶν περιττῶς· ἀλλὰ τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἀπλότης τοῦ ἥθους, ὥς κατὰ Λυδῖαν μικροῦ καὶ ἔλαθεν ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπανόρθωσις. Although Eunapius praised Chrysanthius for

his discretion, some of Chrysanthius's contemporaries seem to have understood his caution as cowardice; see Eunapius *Vitae Sophistarum* 13.3.8.

- 86 Foss 1976:28.
- 87 See, e.g., Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 19, cited in Foss 1976:28–29 and 116, a fragmentary inscription from after 539 AD explaining the (presumably official) handling of the city's remaining “damnable pagans” (ἐξωρισθέντων νοσίων); see also Hanfmann and Mierse 1983:192.
- 88 On the reuse of *Lydiaka* by a different religious community at Sardis, see the section entitled “Jewish Leontomania in Sardis” in Chapter 4.
- 89 Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014.
- 90 Taşyürek 1975; Shafer 1998: cat. no. 71; Börker-Klähn 1982:220 cat. no. 235.
- 91 Sayar 2016.
- 92 According to Shafer (1998:322), this is “the only monument still surviving from the many Assyrian campaigns to this region of ancient Que [as Cilicia is known in cuneiform sources].”
- 93 On the various Assyrian reliefs at the source of the Tigris: Harmanşah 2007; Schachner 2009.
- 94 Taşyürek 1975:172.
- 95 SEG 54 1493. On Zeus Ceuranius: Sayar 2004.
- 96 SEG 51.1848–1849. Sayar 2001.
- 97 Strictly speaking, Tarhunt-/Tarhunza- is the Luwian form of the name and Tarhunna- the Hittite one.
- 98 Taşyürek 1975:172.
- 99 Taşyürek 1975; Börker-Klähn 1982:220 cat. no. 236–239.
- 100 Taşyürek 1975:174.
- 101 In Fasillar too a necropolis grew around a Bronze Age statue, as I discuss below in this chapter.
- 102 Blömer 2017, especially p. 358.
- 103 E.g., Hasluck 1912; Nixon 2004; Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014; Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 104 Harmanşah 2014, 2015.
- 105 I have discussed Fasillar elsewhere without attending specifically to interpreters in Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014.
- 106 On Hittite landscape monuments as signals of political power: Glatz and Plourde 2011.
- 107 Original suggestion: Mellaart 1962; see now Bachmann and Özenir 2004, who provide a survey of alternative reconstructions of the monument in Eflatun Pinar.
- 108 Baldiran, Karauğuz, and Söğüt 2010.
- 109 Sterrett 1888:166–167, no. 274; on the meaning of the Greek word “heros” in this context: Graf 1985:127–135; Jones 2010:48–65.
- 110 SEG 6.449, 39.1418; Robert and Robert 1989:50, n. 249.
- 111 Swoboda 1935:16.
- 112 Gardiner 1929; Crowther 1992.
- 113 E.g., van Nijf 2001; Newby 2005:229–271.
- 114 For some speculative suggestions: Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014:139–143.
- 115 Hall 1959: 122.
- 116 Hall 1959; Belke 1984:164, 205–206.
- 117 On Roman and Late Antique visitors to Ilium: Sage 2000; Zwingmann 2012:29–103.
- 118 On this re-performance: Zeitlin 2001; on the tumulus: Rose 2013:260.
- 119 Arrian *Anabasis* 7.14.1–7.
- 120 Zeitlin 2001:239.
- 121 Dio Cassius 78.7–8.
- 122 Herodian 4.8.4–5: ἐπελθὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως λείψανα, ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως τάφον, στεφάνοις τε κοσμήσας καὶ ἄνθεσι πολυτελῶς πάλιν Ἀχιλλέα ἐμίμειτο. ζητῶν δὲ καὶ Πάτροκλόν τινα ἐποίησέ τι τοιοῦτον. ἦν αὐτῷ τις τῶν ἀπελευθέρων φίλτατος, Φῆστος

μὲν ὄνομα, τῆς δὲ βασιλείου μνήμης προεστώς. οὗτος ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ἐτελεύτησεν, ὥς μὲν τινες ἔλεγον, φαρμάκῳ ἀναιρεθεὶς ἵν' ὥς Πάτροκλος ταφῇ, ὥς δ' ἕτεροι ἔφασκον, νόσῳ διαφθαρεῖς. τοῦτου κομισθῆναι κελεύει τὸν νέκυν, ξύλων τε πολλῶν ἀθροισθῆναι πυράν· ἐπιθεῖς τε αὐτὸν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ζῶα κατασφάξας ὑφήψε τε, καὶ φιάλην λαβὼν σπένδων τε τοῖς ἀνέμοις εὔχετο. πάνυ τε ὦν ψιλοκόρητος, πλόκαμον ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πυρὶ ζητῶν ἐγελᾶτο· πλὴν ὦν εἶχε τριχῶν ἀπεκείρατο.

123 Boatwright 2000:140.

124 *Anthologia Palatina* 9.387.

125 Philostratus, *Heroikos* 8.1: Ἄκουε δὴ· πάππος ἦν μοι, ξένε, πολλὰ τῶν ἀπιστουμένων ὑπὸ σοῦ γινώσκων, ὃς ἔλεγε διαφθαρῆναι μὲν ποτε τὸ τοῦ Αἰάντος σῆμα ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης, πρὸς ἣ κείται, ὅστ' αὖ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ φανῆναι κατὰ ἐνδεκάπηχυν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ ἔφασκεν Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα περιστεῖλαι αὐτὰ ἐς Τροίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ τὸν νυνὶ τάφον περιαρμόσαι τῷ Αἴαντι ἔστιν ἃ καὶ προσπτυσζάμενον τῶν ὀστέων καὶ φιλήσαντα.

126 This is one of many passages of Greek and Latin literature mentioning giant bones compiled and analyzed by Mayor 2000; this incident is discussed on p. 117. In that book, Mayor makes a cogent case that the bones involved would have often been the fossilized remains of pre-historic creatures.

127 Boatwright 2000:140–142.

128 Rose 2013:247.

129 Pausanias 1.35.5.

130 Shapin 2010:117–234.

3 TRACES

1 Wylie 2008:289.

2 Hamann 2002:355.

3 On the sorts of traces of the past that interested Pausanias: Arafat 1992: 43–80.

4 Trigger 2006[1998]:40–79; Schnapp 1997:39–120 [first French edition 1993].

5 Such qualities are probably less self-evident and universal than often assumed by modern anthropologists and archaeologists. Conneller (2011:4) neatly illustrates this point by contrasting a description of gold found in a medieval alchemical treatise against one found in a modern Western chemical handbook. See also Ingold 2013:17–32.

6 OSL is a method of dating used by both geologists and archaeologists that gauges the last time quartz particles were exposed to light.

7 I have considered these questions with a much wider geographic and temporal scope in Rojas 2017.

8 Deleuze and Guattari 1987; other key figures in the discussion include DeLanda 2006 and Bennett 2010.

9 Discussed in the section entitled “Pausanias, the Lydian guides, and the Plowmen in Temenothyrae” in Chapter 2 above.

10 On the main relief and associated monuments: Rossner 1988:103–115, Şahin 1999; Aro 2003:335–336; Ehringhaus 2014:48–61. Maner (2017) provides preliminary results of recent archaeological survey in the region.

11 On the inscriptions: Hawkins 2000: 516–518, no. x. 43A and B. A third inscription (Hawkins 2000: no. x. 43C) records the name of one Tiymartus who “carved it;” a fourth inscription is now illegible.

12 I have previously discussed Byzantine and early modern engagements with this monument and its greater archaeological landscape without focusing on the matter of assemblages: Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014.

13 Gottfried Hagen explains (pers. comm.) that the passage in question comes from a section of the *Cihânnüma* that is likely not Kâtip Çelebi's own, but rather the work of a different late seventeenth-century AD Ottoman geographer.

14 Çelebi forthcoming.

- 15 Ramsay and Bell 1909:506.
- 16 Ramsay 1908:174.
- 17 Ramsay 1908:175.
- 18 On the Ambar Deresi “copy”: Gelb 1939:31, pl. 46; Ehringhaus 2014:5–7.
- 19 Ramsay 1908:175; Corinthians 11.10.
- 20 Ramsay 1908:174 n. 1. On the Byzantine buildings, which include a middle Byzantine church once decorated with polychrome frescos: Belke 1984:139–140.
- 21 Gordon 1967 connects these “düden” to the “divine road” or ^dKAŠKAL.KUR known from Bronze Age cuneiform and Anatolian hieroglyphic texts. On Anatolian rock-cut monuments and the “divine road”: Harmanşah 2015:42–45.
- 22 The relief up the Ambar Deresi was carved next to two caves that themselves have water sources in them; it is conceivable that even in the Iron Age, the lower and upper reliefs were imagined to be connected by underground streams. Maner (2017:103–105) has conducted survey in the caves and found an inscribed fragment with a few Anatolian hieroglyphic signs.
- 23 Most famously and conspicuously at the site of Nahr el Kalb, Lebanon: Afeiche 2009.
- 24 Harmanşah 2015:93–100.
- 25 Jonathan Ben Dov and I organized a conference at Brown University dedicated to the afterlives of rock-cut monuments in the ancient Near East: <https://blogs.brown.edu/archaeology/workshops/rockcutmonuments/>. We are currently editing the proceedings of this conference.
- 26 Extreme and in many ways opposing responses to the challenges posed by these questions can be exemplified, on the one hand, by Börker-Klähn 1982 (who effectively restricted her analysis of these monuments to their iconography) and, on the other, by Harmanşah 2015 (who proposes an ambitious, diachronic, and holistic approach to rock-cut reliefs and inscriptions that takes into consideration not just their immediate landscapes, but also the history of the landscape from geological time to the present); on pp. 90–93, Harmanşah offers a brief assessment of recent work on Anatolian rock reliefs.
- 27 Frazer 1965[1898]:xix. Ramsay (1882:62 n. 3) had already made the same tentative hypothesis. There is general consensus now that Pausanias was indeed born in Magnesia. For a more recent assessment of his birthplace: Habicht 1998:13–15 with a list of relevant passages in n. 66.
- 28 Pausanias 5.13.7: Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καλουμένη καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν, διαβάντι δὲ Ἑρμῶν ποταμὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήμνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τετηλυίας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμη, προῖλασκόμενον τε τὴν θεὸν καὶ γενέσθαι οἱ τὸν γάμον τῆς Ἰπποδομείας αἰτούμενον. In addition to the landmarks in this passage, Pausanias also mentioned elsewhere two other specifically Tantalid remains on Mount Sipylus: the petrified Niobe (1.21.3) and the stone statue of the Mother of the Gods carved by Broteas (3.22.4) discussed in the Introduction.
- 29 Physical collection of “signs” such as the Nannas Bakivalis monument (examined in Chapter 2) are more difficult to identify, partly as a result of the tendency to analyze objects according to the date of their production. Moreover, anachronisms are easiest to detect in elite art (e.g., portrait sculpture). Yet there are intriguing archaeological remains that may point to the deliberate production of anachronic collections of “signs” or assemblages. One potential example in Anatolia is the bizarre and fascinating site of Gergakome, on which see Held 2008.
- 30 Thucydides 1.9.2 stated that Pelops first ruled over the Peloponnese. The monuments associated with Pelops and his family on and near Mount Sipylus could be placed in a temporal sequence in relation to monuments in southern Greece. On Tantalid and other “Asianic” memory horizons: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 31 In the late nineteenth century AD, George Perrot (1890:39–72) produced a beautifully illustrated analysis of the remains on Sipylus mentioned by Pausanias. That study reveals the difficulties faced by European scholars interested in generating such sequences and, more generally, in fitting those archaeological remains into universal art history.

- 32 Pausanias 3.22.4, discussed in [Chapter 1](#).
- 33 Bean 1979:38–40.
- 34 Pausanias 7.24.13; Pliny the Elder 5.117; Strabo 1.13.17; Aelius Aristides 17; for earlier sources: Herrmann 1989:477; Jones 1994:207–208 with n. 15.
- 35 Tezcan 1999:58–59.
- 36 Rojas 2015b.
- 37 Laluk (2017) discusses an analogous situation in a completely different cultural context: the modern American Southwest. Archaeologists working in the region have generally not been sensitive to living trees as “archaeologically usable facts,” even though indigenous experts can tell apart those that have been modified by human hands and those that have not.
- 38 Ramsay and Bell 1909:507. On the overall archaeological landscape of Kızıldağ: Karauğuz, Bahar, and Kunt, 2002. See also Ramsay and Bell 1909:505–512; Alp 1974; Harmanşah 2013:47–50; Ehringhaus 2014:15–28. French 1996:93–95 identifies the site as classical Barata.
- 39 Ramsay and Bell 1909:511–512 thought this monument was a gate of the fortification.
- 40 On the Anatolian hieroglyphic inscriptions: Hawkins 2000:433–435, nos. x.1–3.
- 41 On the relief: Aro 2003:334.
- 42 Ramsay and Bell (1909:508), however, argued that the inscription and relief were contemporaneous.
- 43 Hawkins 1992.
- 44 As suggested by Lorenzo D’Alfonso at the conference “Carvings in and out of Time: Afterlives of Rock-Cut Monuments in the Ancient Near East” held at Brown University on February 15–16, 2017.
- 45 Güterbock 1947:64 and fig. 10; Bittel 1986:109.
- 46 SEG 36.1235bis. The footprints, presumably contemporaneous with the Greek inscription, may record the positions of participants in a ritual performance. On incised footprints in Greek and Roman antiquity: Dunbabin 1990.
- 47 Chaniotis 2008:27.
- 48 Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014.
- 49 Pausanias 10.32.6–7: ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησιν Αὐλαὶ καλούμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον, μεγέθους μὲν εἵνεκα οὐ πολλοῦ θαύματος, τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὰ μάλιστα ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἰσχύον ἐπὶ ἔργῳ παρέχεται παντί· καὶ αὐτῷ ἄνδρες ἱεροὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν τε ἀποτόμων καὶ πετρῶν πηδῶσιν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ὑπερμήκη δένδρα ἐριπτόντες ἐκ ριζῶν κατὰ τὰ στενώτατα τῶν ἀτραπῶν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἄχθεσιν ὁδεύουσι.
- 50 The quote is from Gell (1980:221), who speaks of “the pervasive relation which exists between bodily equilibrium and disequilibrium and states of consciousness” in a discussion of the religious use of swings in India.
- 51 French 1996:96.
- 52 The question of what Craterus thought of the text is intriguing, but impossible to answer. Herodotus (2.106.5) provides a “translation” of the main hieroglyphic inscription at Karabel; on which: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a. Perhaps Craterus too claimed to know what hieroglyphic texts said.
- 53 Hawkins 2000:435–442, no. x.5.
- 54 Craterus’s dance may have coincided, for example, with the appearance of the lake in the spring.
- 55 On appearing and disappearing bodies of water in Anatolia: e.g., Ovid *Metamorphoses* 8.611–724 (with Jones 1994, who convincingly argues for a setting of the myth of Baucis and Philemon in Lydia); Calder 1910, 1922; Malten 1940, with evidence involving appearing and disappearing lakes and associated rituals specifically in Lycaonia. On lakes and kings in ancient Anatolia: Rojas 2015b.
- 56 Hamilakis 2014:128.
- 57 On the importance of autopsy in the construction of historical narratives among Greek and Roman historians beginning with Herodotus: Marincola 1997:63–86. On materially waged competitions over memory, authority, and tradition: Alcock 2005:168.

- 58 On the term: Elsner 2007:54.
- 59 CTH 321. Sayce 1923 is the *editio princeps*. Porzig (1930) first noted correspondences between, on the one hand, the Hittite myth of Illuyankas, and, on the other, the Greek and Roman attestations of the myth of Typhon. Beckman (1982) has edited and translated the relevant fragments into English. See also Bachvarova 2016:251–255. Watkins (1995) is a seminal linguistic study of the dragon myth in all branches of the Indo-European language family. See also Ogden (2013), an encyclopedic treatment of this and most other dragon myths in Greek and Roman mythology.
- 60 As explained in Chapter 2, Tarhunt-/Tarhunza- is the Luwian form of the name and Tarhunna- the Hittite one.
- 61 Etymologically, the name Illuyankas means “eel-snake”: Katz 1998.
- 62 Delaporte 1940:34–35. Güterbock (1957:64) understood the two figures on the relief as the same god in successive moments: first approaching the dragon, then in combat with it.
- 63 For the text of Aeneas of Gaza: Colonna 1958:63. There are also a few more indirect ancient references that seem to allude to this myth: Chuvin 1991:107 n. 42.
- 64 The hero is known from other Greek and Latin sources as Tylon; the eccentric spelling in the manuscripts may be due simply to scribal confusion between the Greek majuscule letters Μ and Λ.
- 65 A sixth-century BC ceramic vessel (*lebes*) of East Greek style found at Sardis depicts two confronted giant water-serpents. Scholars have very tentatively associated this *lebes* with the dragon myth. Greenewalt (1994:1, 6) noted that water-serpents are “rare in Greek vase painting, they are relatively uncommon in Greek art as a whole, and usually appear to test a hero or harass a heroine.” See also Katz 1998:n. 23. This vessel, sometimes called the “Nessie Vase,” is now in the Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum of Manisa, no. 8055. It is illustrated also on the website of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis: <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/artifacts/latw-71>.
- 66 Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 25.5.14=FGrH 765F3: *Xanthus historiarum auctor in prima earum tradit, occisum draconis catulum revocatum ad vitam a parente herba, quam balim nominat, eademque Tylonem, quem draco occiderat, restitutum saluti.*
- 67 On wandering poets in Late Antiquity: Cameron 1965, 2015; more generally on wandering poets in ancient Greece: Hunter and Rutherford 2009. On the *Dionysiaca* and local Anatolian mythology: Chuvin 1991 *passim*.
- 68 Nonnus *Dionysiaca* 25.451–552.1.
- 69 Moria is a character associated by Nonnus at *Dionysiaca* 2.86 with the olive tree. The name Damasēn, instead of Mas(d)nes (attested on relevant coins at Sardis), may be due to a word-game involving the verb δαμάζω meaning “tame, break in, subdue,” which often is a component of the name of mythical giants; on this etymology: Vian 1990:38.
- 70 Hanfmann 1958:68–72.
- 71 BMC Lydia Sardis no. 179, minted under the emperor Alexander Severus (r. AD 222–235).
- 72 Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, no. 1309=anc. Coll. Waddington no. 5274, pl. 9.19; minted under the emperor Gordian III (r. AD 238–244).
- 73 Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, no. 1313A=Mionnet 4 no. 780 celebrates Otacilia Severa, wife of the emperor Philip the Arab (r. AD 244–249). The name Ge below Tylon records his ancestry, for he was thought to be a son of the personified Earth.
- 74 Robert 1937:155–159, with the cautionary remarks of Gusmani 1960:326–335. Both names attested in the genitive and partially restored: Μασδ[ν]ιδος (Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 125) and Αλιβα[λι]δος (Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 127). Beyond Lydia, in Miletus, there seems to have been a phratry called Τυλ[ω]νιδ[αι] or “descendants of Tylon”: Wiegand and Rehm 1958: no. 342.
- 75 Watkins 1995:451 with figures 1 and 2 on pp. 5–6.
- 76 Weiss 1995 examines the use of local myths in inscriptions and coins in Roman Sardis. On coins and local myths elsewhere in Anatolia: Price 2005.
- 77 Arundell 1828:260; his lyrical description of the “Scorched Land” is quoted at greater length in Robert 1962:304–305; see also Philippson 1912/1913.

- 78 Homer *Iliad* 2.782; Strabo 12.8.19, 13.4.6. On (the classical) Typhoeus and the (Hittite) Illuyankas: Watkins 1995:448–459.
- 79 Robert 1962:314, 1987:334–352; Vian 1960:20. Lycophron *Alexandra* 1351–1355 = Pedley 1972: no. 258 quoting only up to 1353. Lycophron does not mention the lake or Echidna by name, but the poet's references, though characteristically riddling, are unmistakable. Robert 1982.
- 80 Homer and Hesiod say that Typhon lived among the Arimoi; some ancient authorities placed the Arimoi in the “Scorched Land” in eastern Lydia; see Homer *Iliad* 2.783 with scholia; Hesiod *Theogony* 304 with West 1966:250–251 *ad loc.*; Strabo 12.8.19, 13.4.11 = Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F4a–b who explains the burning as the result of the thunderbolts Zeus hurled against Typhon.
- 81 Dioscorides *De Materia Medica* 4.150: “wild cucumber... some [call it] *balis* (σίκυς ἄγριος... οἱ δὲ βαλὶς), with André 1956, who defends the reading of the manuscript against emendation.
- 82 There is a passage in Virgil (*Georgics* 4.121–122) that obliquely describes a cucumber as snake-like; the first-century AD agricultural writer Columella alludes to and expands Virgil's word-game (*De Re Rustica* 10.378–392, with Cowan 2007). Columella recommends the *Cucumis anguineus* (literally “snaky cucumber”) as a means of pest control (*De Re Rustica* 2.9.10). Janick, Paris, and Parrish (2007) argue that the *Ecballium elaterium* “would not fit the epithet anguinei (snake-like) as the plants of this species are not viney nor can its fruits be described as serpentine.” If my interpretation is correct, the associations do not have to do with the manner of growth of the plant, but rather with its squirting capacities.
- 83 Ogden 2013:233–234.
- 84 Efficacious: Sezik and Yeşilada 1995; poisonous: Raikhlin-Eisenkraft and Bentur 2000.
- 85 On Hierapolis as ancient travel destination: Zwingmann 2012:314–317.
- 86 Kelp 2013:92.
- 87 D'Andria 2001.
- 88 Thonemann 2011:186.
- 89 Pfanz et al. (2014:111) found that the concentration of CO₂ in this cave exceeded 90 percent: to penetrate it without proper protection or training would be fatal.
- 90 Similar gas-spewing caves are found in Magnesia, Nysa, and Myus along the Maeander Valley. Modern Turkish toponyms (e.g., Buharkent, literally “Smoketown,” previously known as Burhaniye) attest to continuing geothermal activity in the valley.
- 91 D'Andria 2013.
- 92 On ancient pilgrimage and tourism to the Charonion at Hierapolis: Zwingmann 2012:314–340.
- 93 In addition to the passage of Strabo quoted below, see also Dio Cassius 68.27; Damascius *Life of Isidore* = Photius *Bibliotheca* 131.
- 94 On Strabo's education: Strabo 14.4.48; Bowersock 2000.
- 95 Strabo 13.4.14:...Ἰερὰ πόλις, ὅπου τὰ θερμὰ ὕδατα καὶ τὸ Πλουτώνιον, ἄμφω παραδοξολογίαν τινὰ ἔχοντα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ οὕτω ῥαδίως εἰς πᾶρων μεταβάλλει πηττόμενον ὥστ' ὀχετοὺς ἐπάγοντες φραγμοὺς ἀπεργάζονται μονολίθους, τὸ δὲ Πλουτώνιον ὑπ' ὀφρύϊ μικρᾷ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης ὀρεινῆς στόμιόν ἐστι σύμμετρον ὅσον ἀνθρώπῳ δέξασθαι δυνάμενον, βεβάθυνται δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ· πρόκειται δὲ τούτου δρυφάκτωμα τετράγωνον ὅσον ἡμιπλέθρου τὴν περίμετρον· τοῦτο δὲ πληρὲς ἐστὶν ὀμιχλώδους παχείας ἀχλὺς ὥστε μόγις τοῦδαφος καθορᾶν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν κύκλῳ πλησιάζουσι πρὸς τὸν δρυφάκτον ἄλυπός ἐστιν ὁ ἄήρ, καθαρεύων ἐκείνης τῆς ἀχλὺς ἐν ταῖς νηνεμίαις· συμμένει γὰρ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβάλλου· τῷ δ' εἴσω παριόντι ζῶω θάνατος παραχρῆμα ἀπαντᾷ· ταῦροι γοῦν εἰσαχθέντες πίπτουσι καὶ ἐξέλκονται νεκροί, ἡμεῖς δὲ στρουθία ἐπέμψαμεν καὶ ἔπρεσεν εὐθύς ἐκπνεύσαντα· οἱ δ' ἀπόκοποι Γάλλοι παρίασιν ἀπαθείς, ὥστε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ στομίου πλησιάζειν καὶ ἐγκύπτειν καὶ καταδύνειν μέχρι ποσοῦ συνεχόντας ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τὸ πνεῦμα· ἐωρῶμεν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ὕψεως ὡς ἂν πνιγώδους τινὸς πάθους ἔμψασιν, εἴτ' ἐπὶ πάντων [τῶν] οὕτω πεπηρωμένων τοῦτο εἶτε μόνων τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ εἶτε θεῖα

προνοίᾳ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνθουσιασμῶν εἰκός, εἴτε ἀντιδότοις τισὶ δυνάμεσι τούτου συμβαίνοντος. τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀπολιθώσεως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ποταμῶν φασὶ συμβαίνειν καίπερ ὄντων ποτίμων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πρὸς βαφὴν ἐρίων θαυμαστῶς σύμμετρον τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἱερὰν πόλιν ὕδωρ, ὥστε τὰ ἐκ τῶν ριζῶν βαπτόμενα ἐνάμιλλα εἶναι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς κόκκου καὶ τοῖς ἀλουργέσιν· οὕτω δ' ἐστὶν ἄφθονον τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ὕδατος ὥστε ἡ πόλις μεστὴ τῶν αὐτομάτων βολανείων ἐστί. (Translation H. L. Jones.)

- 96 On the coin from Magnesia: Schultz 1975: no. 147. On that from Nysa: Regling 1913: no. 87, taf XIII no. 153. D'Andria 2013: 180–181.
- 97 More on Saint Philip, himself a dragon-slayer, in the section entitled “Dragon Spoor in Christian Anatolia” in Chapter 4. On Byzantine and Turkish Pamukkale: Arthur 2006.
- 98 Merkelbach and Stauber 1996: no. 4, with Rutherford 2007.
- 99 Weber 1910.
- 100 D'Andria 2017: 196.
- 101 Thonemann 2011: 188.
- 102 It is worth noting, however, that environmental personhood is an emerging trend in the law and the academy: e.g., Gordon 2018.
- 103 Haas 1982: 49. “Die Berge sind selbst Wesen voller dynamischer Kraft und nicht nur statisch Schauplatz und Kulisse der Götter- und Dämonenkämpfe oder der Wohnstätte der überirdischen Mächte.” Although Haas’s main concern was the second millennium BC, he also discussed Lydian, Phrygian, Urartian, and even later Armenian conceptions of mountains and mountain gods in this study.
- 104 On the so-called ontological turn: e.g., Kelly 2014; Kohn 2015.
- 105 Bryce 2004: 135.
- 106 In one of the parables that forms the proemium of the Hurrian song of Kumarbi, an offended mountain curses an ungrateful deer: KBo 32.14 i/ii 1–22. Admittedly, these texts seem to have a morally didactic purpose and include animals and utensils behaving “in a very human manner” (Hoffner 1990: 68).
- 107 King Muwatalli’s “Prayer to the Storm God Concerning the Cult of Kummanni” (CTH 382), for example, invokes a mountain that has felt offended (relevant passage at KBo 11.1 obv. 32–33).
- 108 As often in diplomatic texts, mountains are included in the list of divine witnesses in the treatise between, for example, Suppiluliuma I of Hatti and various contemporaneous rulers including Huqana of Hayasa (CTH 42), Shattiwaza of Mittani (CTH 52), and Tette of Nuhashshi (CTH 53).
- 109 KUB 30.36 ii.
- 110 KUB 12.62 rev. 3–6.
- 111 Jason König is now leading an ambitious project on mountains in the classical tradition that will attend to how mountains were conceptualized in both literature and lived experience: <http://mountains.wp.st-andrews.ac.uk/>.
- 112 Notable contribution by classicists include: Huxley 1978; Burkert 1979; Buxton 1992, 2013: 9–31; Clarke 1997.
- 113 Ramsay 1927: vi.
- 114 I discuss the lasting relevance of this tradition after the classical period in the section entitled “A Christian Mountain-Person” in Chapter 4.
- 115 Buxton 1992, 2013: 9–31.
- 116 Some of the gods who ruled the Lydian mountain peaks under Greek names were Hellenized versions of Anatolian mountain (and storm) deities. We know about several Lydian mountain gods, including Apollo Carius and Zeus Deusion, from literary sources; others, such as Ζεύς Ὀρείτης, Μήτηρ Ἀκραΐαι, and Μήτηρ Ὀρεΐα, are known only from inscriptions: Petzl 1995: 38–40; de Hoz 1999.
- 117 The most famous of Greek mountain-persons are the personified Mount Cithaeron and Mount Helicon who, according to the poet Corinna (PMG 654), engaged in a lively musical contest.

- 118 I have addressed the entanglement of god, kings, and landscape in ancient Anatolia previously (Rojas 2015b), where I concentrated on lakes.
- 119 Maximus of Tyre 2: ὄρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὄρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα.
- 120 *Iliad* 13.754–755: Ἦ βα, καὶ ὀρμήθη ὄρεϊ νιφθέντι ἑοικῶς | κεκλήγων, διὰ δὲ Τρώων πέτετ' ἦδ' ἐπικούρων.
- 121 *Scholia in Iliadem (scholia vetera)* ad 13.754–755: πρὸς δὲ μέγεθος ἡ εἰκῶν, ἐπεὶ ἀκίνητόν ἐστι τὸ ὄρος. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγριον αὐτοῦ καὶ φοβερόν ὄρει παρεικάζει χιόνι κεκαλυμμένῳ.
- 122 Clarke 1997:76.
- 123 In New Zealand, the granting of legal rights to the Whanganui River and to Mount Taranaki is the direct result of dialogue with Maori communities whose landscape ontologies recognize kinship bonds between people and landscape features: Roy 2017a, 2017b.
- 124 On analogous ontological problems involving various shortcomings of archaeologists in dealing with what contemporary indigenous people consider indices of their own past: Laluk 2017; Cabral 2016; Todd 2017.
- 125 The situation has intriguing analogues in completely unrelated cultural traditions that recognize places (as opposed to, say, libraries or museums) as the location of wisdom, including historical wisdom; see, for instance, Basso 1996.
- 126 The town of Tmolus, known in Roman times also as Aureiopolis (after Marcus Aurelius), is almost certainly Gökkaya, 14 kilometers west of Sardis, in the northern foothills of Boz Dağ: Foss 1982. On the River Tmolus: Theophrastus *De lapidibus* 47; Hesychius (s.n. Τμῶλος). On the various characters called Tmolus: *LIMC* (s.n. Tmolus).
- 127 On the tumuli in Lydia: Roosevelt 2003, 2009:139–151.
- 128 Nicander *Theriaca* 630–635: “So gather *thamnus*, like little wild lettuces, | humid, and always covered with a white flower; | *philetairis*, they call it – | men who *by the tomb of Tmolus and of Gyges* | inhabit the Virgin rock where un-worked horses feed on Cilbis | and where the head of the Cayster is.” Ἀγρεὶ μὲν ὀλίγαις μηκωνίσι ῥάμνον ἔισην | ἐρσομένην, ἄργῃτι δ' αἰεὶ περιδέδρομεν ἄνθη· | τὴν ἥτοι φιλέταιριν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν | ἄνδρες οἱ Τμῶλοιο παρὰ Γύγαό τε σῆμα | Παρθένιον | ναίουσι λέπας, τόθι Κίλβιν ἄεργοι | ἵπποι χιλεῦσιν καὶ ἀντολαὶ εἰσι Καῦστρου.
- 129 On a tumulus in the necropolis of Bin Tepe once incorrectly associated with Gyges: Ratté 1994.
- 130 Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrHist* 90 F10; cf. *FGrHist* 90 F18 (a different Tmolus); a scholion to Euripides *Orestes* (ad 5) says: Διὸς πεφυκῶς: Τμῶλου καὶ Πλουτοῦς υἱὸς ὁ Τάνταλος. “Born of Zeus: Tantalus the son of Tmolus and Pluto.”
- 131 Apollodorus *Bibliotheca*, 2.6.3 = Pedley 1972: no. 1.
- 132 Pseudo-Plutarch *De Fluviiis* 7.5.
- 133 The sign in question is Laroche 207.
- 134 Bibliothèque nationale de France *Supplément grec* 247. Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff (1997) provide an excellent color facsimile and a companion volume of studies.
- 135 While there is concurrence that the manuscript *Supplément grec* 247 was produced in the tenth or eleventh century AD, there is still some disagreement as to the date of the original illustrations that served as the model for the existing miniatures; a date between the third and fifth centuries AD is favored by Aslanoff in Touwaide, Förstel, and Aslanoff 1997:63. Intriguingly, Tertullian (*Scorpiae* 1) asserts that Nicander “writes and draws” (*Nicander scribit et pingit*); this may be taken as evidence that illustrated manuscripts of the *Theriaca* were circulating in the late second or early third century AD. Nicander himself probably did not illustrate his texts, but it is arguable that, had he done so, he would have produced a very different image to that in the Paris manuscript, for it is all but certain that the poet knew that the tombs of Lydian kings were tumuli. He had most likely seen the great mounds in Bin Tepe and perhaps many others throughout Lydia. At any rate, it was surely tumuli he had in mind when he composed the passage of the *Theriaca* that we have examined above. As far as I know, it would take almost a millennium for the next illustrations of the tombs of the Lydian kings to be executed; when in the mid-eighteenth century Giovanni Battista Borra depicted the tumulus of Alyattes in Bin Tepe, he had the advantage of sketching it *in situ*.

- 136 Strabo 13.4.7=Pedley 1972:no. 279. In a letter to Professor Charles Eliot Norton, dated September 18, 1882 (which itself forms part of a letter dated September 29, 1882, pp. 15–17), the archaeologist Francis Bacon, then stationed at Assos, said he had “carefully examined the lake of Gyges, and had found the ancient stone sluiceway thro’ which the water was distributed over the plain, during the dry season.” It is not clear what type of structure Bacon inspected. Crawford H. Greenewalt Jr. provided me with his transcription of this document. The lake, however, appears to be entirely natural.
- 137 Roosevelt 2009:44.
- 138 On the Lydian co-option of Bin Tepe: Mazzarino 1947:177; Luke and Roosevelt 2016. On the possible genetic connections between Lydian (and other Anatolian) kings and lakes: Rojas 2015b.
- 139 Rojas 2015b, especially p. 200, on the rationalization of *Iliad* 2.864–66 (a passage which mentions the hero-bearing Gygaean Lake).
- 140 Buckler and Robinson 1932:no. 34.
- 141 On the altar, see Hanfinann and Ramage (1978: no. 211, fig. 371). Weiss (1995:103–104, Abb. 14) interprets the figure as a young Dionysus reclining on a fawn skin atop the mountain; he may be right, but Tmolus himself was depicted in a very similar pose in other media including coinage from Sardis (see Weiss 1995:102 Abb. No. 10=Baydur 1994: cat. no. 249); moreover, on the altar, the figure’s musculature and heavy proportions as well as the implication of pubic hair suggest a mature figure.
- 142 In addition to the the tribe of Masdnis and possibly Alibalis (?), tribes in ancient Sardis honoring figures from the Lydian past included those of Tmolis, Pelopis (Hanfinann and Mierse 1983:111 n. 30 and ill. 170; Petzl 2019 nos. 384 and 583), and Mermnas (Buckler and Robinson 1932: no. 124). As suggested by Robert (1964:45–47), the tribe of Leontii may have been a local Jewish tribe that commemorated Jewish memory horizons, specifically the tribe of Judah, in a Hellenizing fashion. For a commentary and recent bibliography on the relevant inscription, see also Petzl 2019: no 495.
- 143 Merkelbach and Stauber 1998:493. The sentiment expressed by the epitaph that mentions the deceased young Tmolus is commonplace, but the personal name is significant: the child was named after a mountain that had ruled over Lydia long before the Romans had arrived in the region.
- 144 Discussed in the section entitled “Collectors of *Lydiaka* in Sardis” in Chapter 2.
- 145 A newly published inscription from Sardis dating from the second or third century AD, though very fragmentary, has been interpreted as having to do with the early Lydian history. If the proposed emendations are correct, its text mentions the Mermnad kings Ardys and Sadyattes and also the Heraclidae. See Petzl 2019 no. 577.
- 146 On Roman villages on Mount Tmolus: Foss 1982.
- 147 Strabo 13.4.5: φασὶ δ’ ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογοῦντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες. “They say that there [i.e., in the Gygaean Lake] the reeds dance during the feasts; I do not know whether they are registering wonders rather than speaking the truth.” See also: Pliny 31.19.25.
- 148 Varro *De Agricultura* 3.17.4: *Nam ut Pausias et ceteri pictores eiusdem generis loculatas magnas habent arculas, ubi discolores sint cerae, sic hi loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispaes disclusos habeant pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi χορευούσας vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet.* See also: Martianus Capella 9.298. On the dancing islands: Robert 1982:351–352.
- 149 SEG 12 503. Parker 2016:9. The adjective ἐπήχῳ may simply mean “echoing,” but Bean (1950:560–561 no. 1) argued that ἐπήχῳ was a misspelling of the much more common (and occasionally misspelled) ἐπήκοῳ, meaning “listener.” On “listening gods”: Weinreich 1912.
- 150 Ovid *Metamorphoses*, 11.146–194, personified Tmolus at l. 156; cf. Pseudo-Hyginus 191. This and other narratives in Ovid (e.g., the tale of Arachne from Hypaepa) most likely originate in Anatolian traditions partly transmitted through Hellenistic poets, but partly also, as discussed above in reference to the dragon myth, through local storytelling and associated practices.

- 151 Anthropologists and archaeologists working in the Americas have mounted a vigorous critique of the nature/culture divide. Important contributions include Descola 2013 (originally published in French in 2005); Viveiros de Castro 1998, 2014 (originally published in French in 2009); the classicist and historian of science G. E. R. Lloyd (2014) has assessed and incorporated some of these theories in his own investigations regarding ancient Greek and Chinese epistemologies and ontologies.
- 152 Kosiba 2017. Cf. Wu 2012 on the changing significance and indeed changing materiality of ruins as sites of cultural memory in China (and beyond).
- 153 Chase 2015.
- 154 Viveiros de Castro 2011.
- 155 Wylie 2008:289, cited as the epigraph of this chapter.
- 156 Thomas (2015: 1293–1294) provides a dense and detailed definition of the term specifically as it pertains to archaeology: “An assemblage is a composition made up of disparate elements that cohere for a greater or lesser period, and to a greater or lesser extent, under specific historical conditions. They are vibrant, unbounded and affective, unlike cybernetic systems. Assemblages have no essence or organising principle, and it is the assemblage as a whole that acts, with outcomes that are emergent rather than attributable to any one element. The notion of assemblage deliberately blurs the conventional boundary between culture and nature, so that both ecologies and societies can, together and independently, be assemblages. Although their components may include ‘inanimate’ objects, assemblages are alive even though they are not bounded organisms. Assemblages may be more or less ‘territorialised’, meaning that they may either become more stable and coherent, or prone to break apart to form new combinations. For our discipline, one of the attractions of the concept is that it is equally applicable to sets of artefacts existing in the present and to social or ecological entities operating in the past.”
- 157 Hamilakis (2014) openly challenges existing archaeological methodologies, which he finds ethically compromised and hermeneutically restricted; the quoted passage taken from p. 197. For my own assessment of his book: Rojas 2015a.

4 HORIZONS

- 1 Diodorus of Sicily *Bibliotheca Universalis* 2.1.4: Τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖνυν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπῆρχον ἐγγώριοι βασιλεῖς, ὧν οὔτε πρᾶξις ἐπίσημος οὔτε ὄνομα μνημονεύεται. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν καὶ μνήμην παραδεδομένων ἡμῖν Νίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσαςτο.
- 2 Quotation from Hawkins 2011:36; on the Anatolian hieroglyphic text in the mosque of Al-Qaiqan: Laroche 1956; on medieval Islamic reuse of this and other pre-classical spolia: Flood 2006; Gonnella 2011.
- 3 Paradigmatic cases include that of Troy (Rose 2015) and Aphrodisias (Reynolds 1982); on how both of these cities used their pasts in their dealings with Rome: Jones 1999:94–105.
- 4 E.g., Whitmarsh 2010; Gruen 2011.
- 5 On this etymology: Atakurt 1951:8–9 with Köhbach (1980, especially n. 1) who discusses Evliya Çelebi’s take on the intertwined memory horizons of Ottoman “Urfa.”
- 6 Batuman 2011:72.
- 7 On the history of the so-called Image of Edessa (or *mandylion*, as it is known in Greek): Nicolotti 2014.
- 8 On the history and antiquities of Edessa: Ross 2001.
- 9 On the standing columns from a third-century AD Roman palace: Segal 1963:26–27. Evliya’s mention of the columns: Buğday 1996:42–43. On the legends of Nimrod: van der Toorn and van der Horst 1990.
- 10 On continuity: Hasluck 1929:244–249. Lightfoot (2003:489) discusses the question of whether the carp in Urfa/Edessa are an example of cultural continuity or revival, prudently concluding that “it might be rather hard to distinguish ‘spontaneous regeneration’ from continuity, especially against a background where such practices were rooted in widespread folk tradition.”

- 11 Segal 1963:9–10.
- 12 Lucian *De Dea Syria* 14. On the ancient Mesopotamian origins of the cult of Atargatis: Frahm 2017:443–450. On the cult of Atargatis in ancient Edessa: Drijvers 1980:76–121.
- 13 Lucian *De Dea Syria* 45: “Ἔστι δὲ καὶ λίμνη αὐτόθι, οὗ πολλὸν ἑκάς τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐν τῇ ἰχθύες ἱροὶ τρέφονται πολλοὶ καὶ πολυειδέες. γίνονται δὲ αὐτῶν ἔνιοι κάρτα μεγάλοι· οὔτοι δὲ καὶ οὐνόματα ἔχουσιν καὶ ἔρχονται καλεόμενοι· ἐπ’ ἐμέο δὲ τις ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖσι χρυσοφορέων. ἐν τῇ πτέρυγι ποίημα χρύσειον αὐτέω ἀνακέατο, καὶ μιν ἐγὼ πολλὰκις ἔθευσάμην, καὶ εἶχεν τὸ ποίημα. (Translation by J. L. Lightfoot.)
- 14 In Chapter 3, I mentioned the melomantic fish of the Gygaean Lake: Varro *De Agricultura* 3.17.4. On variously domesticated and bejeweled fish: Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 32.16; Aelian *De Natura Animalium* 12.30. In those passages, both Pliny and Aelian allude to domesticated and bejeweled fish in sacred pools in the mountain sanctuary of Labraunda in Caria. I have conducted excavations in two Hellenistic monumental fountains in Labraunda that have sometimes been associated – without strong evidence – with the fish mentioned by those authors: Rojas et al. 2014.
- 15 Buğday 1996:42–43.
- 16 This is the name by which the city was known, with minor variations, in several other languages: including Kurdish, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac.
- 17 Gertrude Bell Archive, Newcastle University T_198.
- 18 In a letter that Bell wrote to her stepmother from Aphrodisias, dated February 16, 1909, now in the Gertrude Bell Archive at Newcastle University, she expressed the wish to have a copy of Lucian’s writings specifically to aid her in the understanding of the antiquities of the peninsula.
- 19 Reynolds 1982.
- 20 The earliest document is a letter addressed to Octavian in 37 BC; the latest dates to the rule of Gordian III (r. AD 238/244).
- 21 Discussed in the section entitled “C. Licinius Mucianus, Pliny the Elder, and the Temple-Wardens of Asia” in Chapter 2.
- 22 On the monumental tomb of Zoilus and his biography: Smith 1993.
- 23 Aphrodisias was founded in the late third or early second century BC; on its foundation and early history: Chaniotis 2010.
- 24 On the basilica: Stinson 2008, 2016; on the reliefs: Yıldırım 2004.
- 25 Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Ninōe: Νινὴ, ἡ ἐν Καρίᾳ Ἀφροδισιάς, κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν Πελασγῶν Λελέγων. καὶ ἐκλήθη Λελέγων πόλις. Εἶτα ἐκλήθη Μεγάλῃ πόλις. εἶτα ἀπὸ Νίνου Νινὴ. “Ninōe, Carian Aphrodisias, founded by the Pelasgians. And called city of the Leleges. Then called Great City. Then from Ninos: Ninōe.” As Chaniotis (2010:239–240) has explained, the city may have once been called Nineuda (compare nearby Attouda and the toponym of a local manifestation of Zeus known as Nineudios): “The change of the name from Νίνευδα to Νινὴ (the city of Ninos) can be explained by the mythological association of Aphrodisias with the eponymous *ktistes* (founder) Ninos, the husband of Semiramis.”
- 26 Tacitus *Annales* 3.60: *vetustis superstitionibus aut meritis in populum Romanum fidebant*.
- 27 Tacitus *Annales* 3.60: *sociorum pacta, regum etiam qui ante vim Romana valuerant decreta ... [sc. senatus] introspectit*.
- 28 Tacitus *Annales* 3.63.4. On the claims of these ambassadors: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017b.
- 29 On the term “Asianic”: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 30 On overlapping memory horizons in Aphrodisias: Chaniotis 2009, 2016.
- 31 E.g., *I Aph* 11.508 (dated by priesthoods to AD 98–117, celebrates a certain Myon son of Peritas whose ancestors “had jointly founded the fatherland” τῶν συνεκτικώτων τὴν πατρίδα line 7.) The coming together of various local communities (including one called Plarasa) to form the city of Aphrodisias happened in the Hellenistic period.
- 32 Chaniotis 2009:329: “It is not clear whether this [e.g., the joint founding, συγκατίζειν] is a reference to the original foundation of Aphrodisias in the early 2nd century BC, to the creation of a joint community with Plarasa in the 2nd century BC, or perhaps even to the rebuilding of Aphrodisias in the 1st century BC. In the late Hellenistic period, when these families were

publicly declaring the foundation of Aphrodisias as the work of their ancestors, they were not contrasting their historical version of the city's past to an alternative mythological version; they were referring to an undeniable fact that was part of the civic collective memory."

- 33 Chaniotis 2009:330.
- 34 On the association of specific material remains in and around Aphrodisias with Semiramis, Ninus, and Gordis: Yıldırım 2004.
- 35 Lucian *De Dea Syria*, 16: καὶ ἔστι πολλὰ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ Διονύσου ποιητέω σήματα, ἐν τοῖσι καὶ ἔσθητες βάρβαροι καὶ λίθοι Ἰνδοὶ καὶ ἐλεφάντων κέρα, τὰ Διόνυσος ἐξ Αἰθιοπῶν ἤνεικεν, καὶ φαλλοὶ δὲ ἐστᾶσι ἐν τοῖσι προπυλαίοισι δύο κάρτα μεγάλοι, ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπίγραμμα τοιόνδε ἐπιγέγραπται, τούσδε φαλλοὺς Διόνυσος Ἥρῃ μητρειῇ ἀνέθηκα. (Translation by J. L. Lightfoot)
- 36 Joukowski 1986.
- 37 Chaniotis and Rojas 2016.
- 38 On the tumuli: Ratté 2012.
- 39 On the fortresses (including Gordiouteichos), and more generally the region before the founding of the city: Ratté and Commito 2017:22–38.
- 40 I made this point previously in reference to the Tantalid "signs" (σημεῖα) on Mount Sipylus (Chapter 3).
- 41 Strootman and Versluys 2017:9.
- 42 I have previously discussed some of the evidence treated here without making reference to archaeophilia in an article examining the continued celebration of Persian memory horizons in Roman Anatolia: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017b.
- 43 Strabo 16.1.2: χωρὶς τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἔργων πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν σχεδὸν δεικνύται ὅση τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης ἐστὶ, τὰ τε χῶματα ἃ δὴ καλοῦσι Σεμιράμιδος, καὶ τείχη καὶ ἑρυσμάτων κατασκευαὶ καὶ συρίγγων τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑδρείων καὶ κλιμάκων καὶ διωρύγων ἐν ποταμοῖς καὶ λίμναις καὶ ὁδῶν καὶ γεφυρῶν. (Translation by H. L. Jones.)
- 44 Dalley 2005, 2013; see also Yıldırım 2004:39 n. 81 with a partial list of references.
- 45 The Sacae were a central Asian tribe sometimes identified by the Greeks with the Scythians.
- 46 Strabo 11.8.4: ἐν δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ πέτραι τινὰ προσχώματι συμπληρώσαντες εἰς βουνοειδὲς σχῆμα ἐπέθηκαν τείχος καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος καὶ τῶν συμβῶμων θεῶν ἱερὸν ἰδρύσαντο, Ὡμανοῦ καὶ Ἀναδάτου Περσικῶν δαιμόνων, ἀπέδειξαν τε πανήγυριν κατ' ἔτος ἱεράν, τὰ Σάκαια, ἣν μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελοῦσιν οἱ τὰ Ζῆλα ἔχοντες.
- 47 *Bellum Alexandrinum* (72.1–2): *Zela est oppidum in Ponto positum, ipsum ut in plano loco satis munitum: tumulus enim naturalis, velut manu factus, excelsiore undique fastigio sustinet murum. circumpositi sunt huic oppido magni multique intercisi vallibus colles.* "Zela is a town in Pontus; the site itself is well protected although it is on level ground: for a natural mound (which looks as if it were artificial), higher than everything around it, supports the fortifications. Many hills surround this town and there are valleys between them."
- 48 Strabo 12.3.37: ἡ δὲ Ζηλῖτις ἔχει πόλιν Ζῆλα ἐπὶ χώματι Σεμιράμιδος τετειχισμένην, ἔχουσιν τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀναΐτιδος, ἥνπερ καὶ οἱ Ἀρμένιοι σέβονται. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἱεροποιαὶ μετὰ μείζονος ἀγιστείας ἐνταῦθα συντελοῦνται, καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἐνταῦθα Ποντικοὶ πάντες ποιοῦνται. "As for Zelitis, it has a city Zela, fortified on a mound of Semiramis, with the temple of Anaïtis, who is also revered by the Armenians. Now the sacred rites performed here are characterised by greater sanctity; and it is here that all the people of Pontus make their oaths concerning their matters of greatest importance." (Translation by H. L. Jones.)
- 49 Tyana in Cappadocia (Hittite Tuwanuwa) is another example of an Anatolian city which according to the geographer had been built on a mound of Semiramis: Strabo 12.2.7. Taşyürek 1975:180 calls attention to the fact that the fourth-century AD rhetorician Libanius of Antioch (Oration 11.59) records that the semi-mythical Mesopotamian queen Semiramis built a temple in the region around Antioch for the goddess the Greeks call "Artemis". Taşyürek tentatively suggests that the remains of that "temple" correspond to the Neo-Assyrian reliefs and other remains at Karabur (examined in the section entitled "Priests of the Storm God in Cilicia" in chapter 2 above).

- 50 *Bellum Alexandrinum* 72.2–3.
- 51 Dio 42.48.1–2: τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθ' αὖ ἐγγιγέρκει, ἀντανέστησε· καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὥς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς ἱρωμένον, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ ἐκείνῳ συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέστρεψε.
- 52 Zela has been connected to Durmitta/Durchamid, known from Hittite and Assyrian texts, but the identification has not been demonstrated.
- 53 Dalaison, Remy, and Amandry: nos. 104–107; cf. Price and Trell 1977: nos. 304 (with relevant discussion on pp. 175) and 514.
- 54 E.g., Baydur 1994: a collection of ancient Anatolian coins bearing images of local mountains.
- 55 Strabo 11.8.4: ἐπιθέμενοι δ' αὐτοῖς πανηγυρίζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν λαφύρων οἱ ταύτῃ τότε τῶν Περσῶν στρατηγοὶ νύκτωρ ἄρδην αὐτοὺς ἡράνισαν. “But when they [i.e. the Sacae] were holding a general festival and enjoying their booty, they were attacked by night by the Persian generals who were then in that region and utterly wiped out.”
- 56 Strabo 11.8.5: ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης ἱερὸν, ἐνταῦθα νομίζεται καὶ ἡ τῶν Σακαίων ἑορτὴ βακχεῖα τις μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, διεσκευασμένων σκυθιστῶν, πινόντων ἅμα καὶ πληκτικισμένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα τε καὶ τὰς συμπινοῦσας γυναῖκας. (Translation by H. L. Jones.)
- 57 Greek authors other than Strabo report that the Sacaea was originally a Babylonian substitute-king ritual rather than a “Persian national day.” See Athenaeus 14, 44 p. 639 C=Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F4=Berossus *FGrH* 680 F2; cf. Dio Chrysostom 4.66–68. See most recently Huber 2005, esp. 364–368 on Zela. The issue remains unresolved.
- 58 Briant (2002:726) doubts the Achaemenid connection described by Strabo and highlights the festival's Babylonian origin; see, however: Olshausen 1990:1871, n. 28.
- 59 Perrot (1872:378) assumes continuity between the ancient Sacaea and a modern annual festival, but he offers no concrete evidence for the association.
- 60 Coleman 1993; cf. Spawforth 1994:238–240.
- 61 Consider, for example, the detailed analysis of the multiple and shifting memory horizons of the performers of an acrobatic historical dance in twentieth-century AD Momostenango, Guatemala: Cook and Offitt 2013:96–118.
- 62 Mitchell (2002:56–59) emphasizes the Pontic kings' interest in playing up their (genuine) Persianness and finds no evidence for Hellenizing tendencies; McGing (2014) argues against Mitchell's insistence on the purely Achaemenid identity of the Mithridatic kings and highlights their promotion of conspicuously Hellenic practices, concluding that a complex identity model encompassing Persian, native Anatolian, and Greek elements fits the evidence better.
- 63 See McGing 2009:205–206 on Mithridates Eupator's emphasis on the Persian element in his identity as validation of his power among his subjects and his philhellenism as a way of positioning himself as the savior of the Asian Greeks.
- 64 Pausanias 5.27.5–6: καὶ ἄλλο ἐν Λυδίᾳ θεασάμενος οἶδα διάφορον μὲν θαῦμα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἵππον τὸν Φόρμιδος, μάγων μὲντοι σοφίας οὐδὲ αὐτὸ ἀπηλλαγμένον. ἔστι γὰρ Λυδοῖς <Ἀρτέμιδος> ἐπικλησιν Περσικῆς ἱερὰ ἔν τε ἱεροκαίσαρ' αἰ καλουμένη πόλει καὶ ἐν Ὑπαίποις, ἐν ἐκατέρῳ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν οἴκημά τε καὶ ἐν τῷ οἴκηματι ἔστιν ἐπὶ βωμοῦ τέφρα· χροὰ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τέφραν ἔστιν αὐτῇ τὴν ἄλλην. ἐσελθὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἀνὴρ μάγος καὶ ξύλα ἐπιφορήσας αὖα ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν πρῶτα μὲν τιάραν ἐπέθετο ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ κλησιν ὅτου δὴ θεῶν ἐπᾶδει βάρβαρα καὶ οὐδαμῶς συνετὰ Ἑλλήσιν· ἐπᾶδει δὲ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐκ βιβλίου· ἀνευ τε δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα καὶ περιφανῇ φλόγᾳ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι. (Modified translation from W. H. S. Jones.)
- 65 For a detailed discussion of this report: Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017b:276–281.
- 66 See, respectively, the sections entitled “Dancing on the ‘Throne’ in Lycaonia” in Chapter 3 and “Athletes by a Hittite Giant in Pisidia” and “Imperial Archaeophilia in the Troad” in Chapter 2.
- 67 Johnston 2017:251.
- 68 Johnston 2017:250.
- 69 See the section entitled “Collectors of *Lydiaka* in Sardis” in Chapter 2.
- 70 On the date of the Sardis synagogue, see Rautmann 2011:16–17.

- 71 Mitten and Scorziello 2008:135–146, quote from p. 137. I have previously discussed the evidence treated in this section in Rojas 2013.
- 72 A votive relief depicting Cybele and Artemis dating to around the end of the fifth century BC was defaced and buried as paving in the forecourt of the synagogue; the faces of the goddesses were mutilated, while the rest of the stone was left untouched. If those who reused the stones were also involved in the mutilation, their intention could not have been merely practical. On this relief: Hanfmann and Ramage 1978:58–60, cat. no. 20, figs. 78–83; on its reuse: Mitten and Scorziello 2008:138–139, figs. 2–3.
- 73 Gusmani 1975:115–32; Hanfmann and Mierse 1983:88–89.
- 74 Mitten and Scorziello 2008:138, 145–146.
- 75 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 12.147–53. On Jews in Lydia: Trebilco 1991:5–7, 38.
- 76 On the authenticity of the documents: Ma 1999:63, appendix 3; Gruen 2002:84–86.
- 77 Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 14.235, 14.259–261.
- 78 An early sixth-century Lydian lion was found built into the foundation of one of the piers of the building – probably before the building was converted into a synagogue. Its incorporation into the substructure suggests an apotropaic purpose. On this statue: Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: no. 26, figs. 102–104; on its reuse: Mitten and Scorziello 2008:140–141, figs. 9, 10. A little pilaster capital with a sculpted lion was part of the decoration of the main hall; on this object: Seager 1974:7, fig. 23.
- 79 Kroll 2001:5–55, nos. 22, 23, 39, 48.
- 80 Hanfmann and Ramage 1978: cat. no. 31, figs. 119–122; on its findspot: Seager 1974: fig. 35. Recent investigations of the area have revealed a curious monumental arch of indeterminate date. On this arch, consult Nicholas Cahill's excavation reports from 2014 to 2018 (under "Road Trench and Monumental Arch", available here: www.sardisexpedition.org/en/publications/kst). My characterization of the findspot of this lion in Rojas 2013 is incorrect. The statue was not reerected at the entrance to the synagogue, but rather found near it. According to Bahadır Yıldırım (*viva voce*), the Lydian lion may have been intended to be lifted and reused in the monumental arch, which is built partly out of exposed marble spolia from the temple of Artemis.
- 81 A point already made by Kraabel (1983:184–185): "the Jews were not simply 'reusing' the lion statues; they were actually associating themselves in some way with this traditional Sardis image, combining it with the Biblical one, using it as the story of Noah was used at Apameia in Phrygia."
- 82 Hanfmann, Anosov, and Ramage 1983:63–65. The table itself was made of reused blocks: a massive architectural element with fine egg-and-dart molding on three sides served as the tabletop, which stood on two orthostats depicting Roman eagles clutching thunderbolts. On the so-called Eagle Table: Mitten and Scorziello 2008:142–144, figs. 14–16.
- 83 Robert 1964:47. Petzl 2019: no. 495.
- 84 Rautman 2010:47–60.
- 85 For the Apamean myth: Plutarch *Parallela Minora* 306e–f; Sibylline Oracles 1.261–267 with Lightfoot 2007: 98–103, 364–370, 406–407.
- 86 On the relevant coins and myths: Trebilco 1991:86–95.
- 87 Thonemann 2011:88–98, quotation from p. 92.
- 88 στοιχείον means literally "element" and figuratively "heavenly body;" metaphorically applied to men of distinction it comes to mean something like "luminary, star;" for this last sense see Lampe 1961 (s.v. στοιχείον B2).
- 89 Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica* 5.24.2–6: ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀραδιούργητον ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν, μήτε προστιθέντες μήτε ἀφαιρούμενοι. καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μεγάλα στοιχεῖα κεκοίμηται· ἅτινα ἀναστήσεται τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ κυρίου, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης ἐξ οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀναζητήσκει πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους, Φίλιππον τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ὃς κεκοίμηται ἐν Ἱεραπόλει καὶ δύο θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ γεγηρακυῖαι παρθέναι καὶ ἡ ἐτέρα αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσασμένη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἀναπαύεται· ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἱερεὺς τὸ πέταλον πεφορεῶς καὶ μάρτυς καὶ διδάσκαλος· οὗτος ἐν Ἐφέσῳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Πολύκαρπος ἐν Σμύρνῃ,

καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς· καὶ Θρασέας, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς ἀπὸ Εὐμενείας, ὃς ἐν Σμύρνῃ κεκοίμηται. τί δὲ δεῖ λέγειν Σάγαριν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ μάρτυρα, ὃς ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ κεκοίμηται, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Παπτίριον τὸν μακάριον καὶ Μελίτωνά τὸν εὐνοῦχον, τὸν ἐν ἀγίῳ πνεύματι πάντα πολιτευσάμενον, ὃς κείται ἐν Σάρδεσιν περιμένων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐν ἣ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστήσεται; οὗτοι πάντες ἐτήρησαν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς τεσσαρεσκαideκάτης τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.

- 90 *Acta Philippi* 102–106: δράκων μέγιστος, τὸν νῶτον ἔχων μεμελανωμένον, ἡ δὲ κοιλία αὐτοῦ ἄνθρακες χαλκοῦ ὄντες ἐν σπινθηρισμοῖς πυρός, τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἐκτεταμένον ὑπὲρ πήχους ρ’.
- 91 Debord 1997. See also the section entitled “Dragon Spoor in Western Anatolia” in Chapter 3.
- 92 Rutherford 2007. More generally, on the Christian reinvention of the dragon-slaying stories: Ogden 2013:383–425.
- 93 On the Martyrium of Philip: Arthur 2006:154–158, quote from p. 158. More generally, on Christian Hierapolis and its visitors: Zwingmann 2012:336–338.
- 94 Photius *Bibliotheca* 345a (ed. Bekker): Νεώτερος γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἐλθεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀποπειραθῆναι αὐτοῦ τῆς φύσεως. Δὶς οὖν καὶ τρίς ἐπιπτύξας τὸ ἱμάτιον περὶ τὰς ῥίνας ἵνα, κἂν ἀναπνέῃ πολλάκις, μὴ τὸ διεφθαρμένον καὶ λυμαντικὸν ἀέρα ἀναπνῇ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ σωτήριον, ὃν ἔξωθεν εἰσήγαγε παραλαβὼν ἐν τῷ ἱματίῳ, οὕτω πράξας εἰσῆι τε ἐν τῇ καταδύσει, τῇ ἐκροῇ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐπακολουθῶν, ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ ἀβάτου μυχοῦ, οὐ μὴν εἰς τέλος ἀφίκετο τῆς καταβάσεως· ἡ γὰρ εἴσοδος ἀπερρώγει πρὸς βάθος ἤδη πολὺ τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ γε οὐ διαβατὸν ἦν, ἀλλ’ ὁ καταιβάτης ἐνθουσιῶν ἐφέρετο μέχρι τοῦ πέρατος. Ὁ μὲντοι Ἀσκληπιόδοτος ἐκέιθεν ἀνῆλθε σοφία τῇ αὐτοῦ κακῶν ἀπαθῆς· ἀλλὰ καὶ πνοὴν παραπλησίαν ὕστερον τῇ θανάσιμῳ ἐκ διαφόρων εἰδῶν κατασκευασάμενος ἐμχανήσατο.
- 95 Strabo 13.4.14: καὶ εἴτε θεία προνοία, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνθουσιασμῶν εἰκός.
- 96 On the martyrdom of Pionius: Robert 1994. Note that the first date in the quote is given according to the local calendar of Smyrna, while the second uses a frame of reference that is meaningful only to a Christian. The date in question is February 23, AD 250.
- 97 *Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium* 4.21–23: Καὶ ταῦτα μακρὰν ὕμῶν ὄντα λέγω. ὕμεις ὁρᾶτε καὶ διηγείσθε Λυδίας γῆν Δεκαπόλεως κεκαυμένην πυρὶ καὶ προκειμένην εἰς δεῦρο ὑπόδειγμα ἀσεβῶν, [Αἵτνης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ προσέτι Λυκίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ῥοιγδούμενον πῦρ]. εἰ καὶ ταῦτα πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀφ’ ὑμῶν, κατανοήσατε τοῦ θερμοῦ ὕδατος τὴν χρῆσιν, λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἀναβλύζοντος ἐκ γῆς, καὶ νοήσατε πόθεν ἀνάπτεται ἢ πόθεν πυροῦται εἰ μὴ ἐκβαῖνον ἐν ὑπογαίῳ πυρὶ.
- 98 *Martyrium Pionii presbyteri et sodalium* 4.21–23: Αἵτνης καὶ Σικελίας καὶ προσέτι Λυκίας καὶ τῶν νήσων ῥοιγδούμενον πῦρ. Robert (1994:60–61) had already excised καὶ τῶν νήσων; the entire sentence seems to be an interpolation.
- 99 Bayliss 2004:176.
- 100 Bayliss 2004:174–176 with further references.
- 101 On the Corycian Cave as an ancient landmark: Zwingmann 2012:343–349.
- 102 Pomponius Mela *Chorographia*, 1.72–73 (translation F. E. Romer) (72) *supra specus est nomine Corycius singulari ingenio, ac supra quam ut describi facile possit eximius. Grandi namque hiatus patens montem litori adpositum et decem stadiorum clivo satis arduum ex summo statim vertice aperit. tunc alte demissus et quantum demittitur amplior viret lucis pendentibus undique, et totum se nemoroso laterum orbe complectitur: adeo mirificus ac pulcher, ut mentes accedentium primo aspectu consternat, ubi contemplari duravere non satiet. (73) unus in eum descensus est angustus asper quin gentorum et mille passuum per amoenas umbras et opaca silvae quidam agreste resonantis, rivis hinc atque illinc fluitantibus. ubi ad ima perventum est, rursum specus alter aperitur ob alia dicendus. Terret ingredientes sonitu cymbalorum divinitus et magno fragore crepitantium; the cave was also visited and described by Strabo 14.5.5.*
- 103 Houwink ten Cate 1961:208–215; more recently, Lytle 2011.
- 104 Basilius Seleuciensis *De vita et miraculis sanctae Theclae* 11.30.
- 105 Hicks 1891:240–242, no. 24.

- 106 Oppian *Halieutica* 3.208. On the coins: Houwink ten Cate 1961:36 n.3.
- 107 Pseudo-Matthew 18 (ed. and trans. Elliot).
- 108 Pancaroğlu (2004) has studied the “itinerant dragon-slayer” in medieval Anatolia.
- 109 Der Nersessian 1965; Jones 2007.
- 110 Russell 1990.
- 111 Marr and Smirnov 1931; Gilibert 2018.
- 112 Russell 1990:7.
- 113 Trever 1938:21–23; see also *Encyclopedia Iranica* s.v. simorg.
- 114 Danulat and Kempe 1992.
- 115 A brief description of the manuscript can be found in Evans and Wixom 1997: no. 55.
- 116 Thonemann 2015.
- 117 Robert 1980a.
- 118 Discussed in the section entitled “Living Traces: Anatolian Mountain-People” in Chapter 3.
- 119 Timotheus on Arnobius 5.5.7; see also: Pausanias 7.17.9–12.
- 120 Timotheus on Arnobius 5.5.4: *huic robur invictum et ferocitas animi fuerat intractabilis, insana et furialis libido et ex utroque sexu; vi rapta divastare, disperdere, immanitas quo animi duxerat; non deos curare, non homines, nec praeter se quicquam potentius credere terras caelum et sidera continere.*
- 121 Burkert 1979.
- 122 Baydur 1994 is a handy collection of ancient Anatolian coins depicting mountains; the book provides virtually no analysis.
- 123 SNG Von Aulock IV (Nachträge) 8355 with Robert 1980a.
- 124 Hirt 2010:322.
- 125 Statius *Silvae* 1.5.35–41.
- 126 Indigenous North American thinkers shed some light on how such connections can be conceived. Zoe Todd (2017), for instance, has used indigenous philosophies to argue for the need to form emotional relationships to such mineral beings as dinosaur fossils and oil deposits. See also Basso (1996) and Laluk (2017).
- 127 Zwingmann 2012:309: “Materiellen Hinterlassenschaften anderer Kulturen sowohl aus der Bronzezeit, mithin der Zeit vor den ‘dunklen Jahrhunderten’, als auch aus der Eisenzeit scheint von Griechischen Reisenden so gut wie keinen Aufmerksamkeit zuteil geworden zu sein.” And again on p. 306: “Von den materiellen Hinterlassenschaften nichtgriechischer Kulturen in Kleinasien fanden nur wenige Eingang in die literarische Überlieferung, und in den meisten Fällen ging dies nicht über die schiere Erwähnung ihre Existenz hinaus” (“there are only a few references in the literary tradition to the material traces of non-Greek cultures in Asia Minor, and in most cases they do not do much more than merely mention their existence”).
- 128 E.g., Wace (1949:21), in an article titled “The Greeks and Romans as Archaeologists.” Nearly forty years later, Reardon (1984:23) similarly suggested that the enthusiasm for the past professed by Greek-speaking authors writing under Roman rule was primarily, or even solely, a literary concern. Even the recent *Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (Richter and Johnston 2017) is concerned almost exclusively with literature.
- 129 I discuss the issue in more detail in Chapter 5.
- 130 As elucidated by Wolf (1982) in his seminal study about the global expanse of capitalism since the fifteenth century AD.
- 131 Bryce 2012:33 (emphasis added).
- 132 Klengel 2002:102 (emphasis added).
- 133 On Hittites in the Bible: Bryce 2004:354–556; Singer 2006.
- 134 Gladstone 1876:166–183.
- 135 Sayce 1882:181; more recently, Huxley 1959; ancient discussions of the label Κήτριοι include Hesychius s.v. Κήτριοι and Strabo 13.1.69.
- 136 Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014; Sergueenkova and Rojas 2017a.
- 137 Alcock 2015:24.

5 BEYOND ANATOLIA

- 1 Lowenthal 1985:xv[=2013:1].
- 2 The entanglement is most obvious on a mythological plane at the site of Troy, the putative homeland of Aeneas, but it extends throughout the peninsula partly as a consequence of the idea that Rome was a legitimate political successor of the many empires that had left their mark on the region.
- 3 Although this third point may seem irrelevant in a book that is ostensibly about Roman Anatolia, modern and ancient interpretations are ultimately inextricable.
- 4 Historians of Chinese art and antiquarianism have noted the mutually constitutive nature of the triad attributing key differences between early modern European and Chinese antiquarian endeavors to the general absence of stone ruins – a specific kind of trace – in China. Clunas (1991:92), for example, highlights the “lack of any large-scale physical testimony to the actual reality of ancient times in China” as one of the reasons early modern Chinese antiquarians may have sensed continuities rather than ruptures in their relationship to the remote past; see also Wu 2012.
- 5 The two scholars whose contributions have had arguably the most impact on the study of social memory in the ancient Mediterranean are Susan Alcock, who has worked primarily on Roman Greece (e.g., 2002), and Jan Assmann, who has focused almost exclusively on ancient Egypt (see, e.g., 1991, 2000). Angelos Chaniotis’s (1988) dissertation, which is concerned with local, universal, and other histories that are attested epigraphically, has been equally instructive and inspiring for me.
- 6 Cicero *Disputationes Tusculanae* 5.64–66: cuius [i.e., Archimedis] ego quaestor ignoratum ab Syracusanis, cum esse omnino negarent, saeptum undique et vestitum vepribus et dumetis indagavi sepulcrum. tenebam enim quosdam senariolos, quos in eius monumento esse inscriptos acceperam, qui declarabant in summo sepulcro sphaeram esse positam cum cylindro. ego autem cum omnia conlustrarem oculis – est enim ad portas Agragentinas magna frequentia sepulcrorum – animum adverti columellam non multum e dumis eminentem, in qua inerat sphaerae figura et cylindri. atque ego statim Syracusanis – erant autem principes mecum – dixi me illud ipsum arbitrari esse, quod quaererem. immissi cum falcibus multi purgant et aperuerunt locum. quo cum patefactus esset aditus, ad adversam basim accessimus. apparebat epigramma exesis posterioribus partibus versiculorum dimidiatis fere. ita nobilissima Graeciae civitas, quondam vero etiam doctissima, sui civis unius acutissimi monumentum ignorasset, nisi ab homine Arpinate didicisset. Cicero’s description of this incident has received detailed attention, especially on the part of literary historians: Jaeger 2002, 2008 provide close readings of Cicero’s passage; see also Simms 1990. The tomb of Archimedes and the associated inscription were described in antiquity also by Plutarch, *Marcellus* 17.
- 7 Curiously, West did draw what looks like an inscription in one of the sketches he made in preparation for the painting: Trumble and Aronson 2008:31.
- 8 Pratt 1992:4.
- 9 For a similar, but later case of ancient pride in epigraphic competence, see Ausonius *Epigram* 37 (ed. Green).
- 10 According to tradition, Archimedes had been killed by a Roman soldier after the Greek mathematician, deep in thought, had refused to follow the soldier’s orders during Marcellus’s siege of the city: Plutarch *Marcellus* 19.8–12.
- 11 Rawson 1972:34.
- 12 Figure 5.1 is the second of two versions of the same scene. West painted the first in 1796–1797, after being fooled by a pair of document forgers who had given him a manuscript that allegedly revealed the secret techniques of Titian and his contemporaries. On the fraud and its unmasking: Trumble and Aronson 2008; Fenton 2009. On eighteenth- and nineteenth-century AD illustrations of Cicero’s discovery, including those by West: Trapp 1990.
- 13 Diodorus of Sicily, *Bibliotheca Universalis* 26.18.
- 14 Simms 1990:284.

- 15 In Roman Velia (Greek Elea), for example, a local philosophical school commemorated its connections with the late sixth- or early fifth-century BC philosopher Parmenides – and not just with him, but also with a series of intermediate figures who were imagined to have taught at the very site that school occupied in the Roman period: Ustinova 2009:192–193.
- 16 *Periplus Ponti Euxini* 9.1–9.3: εἰσβαλλόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Φᾶσιν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἵδρυται ἡ Φασιανὴ θεός. εἴη δ' ἂν ἀπὸ γε τοῦ σχήματος τεκμαιρομένων ἡ Πέα· καὶ γὰρ κύμβαλον μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχει καὶ λέοντας ὑπὸ τῷ θρόνῳ, καὶ κάθηται ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ Μητρῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἡ τοῦ Φειδίου. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἡ ἄγκυρα δεικνύται τῆς Ἀργοῦς. καὶ ἡ μὲν σιδηρὰ οὐκ ἔδοξε μοι εἶναι παλαιά – καίτοι τὸ μέγεθος οὐ κατὰ τὰς νῦν ἀγκύρας ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα ἀμυγέπη ἐξηλλαγμένη –, ἀλλὰ νεωτέρα μοι ἐφάνη εἶναι τοῦ χρόνου. λιθίνης δὲ τινος ἄλλης θραύσματα ἐδείκνυτο παλαιά, ὡς ταῦτα μᾶλλον εἰκάσαι ἐκείνα εἶναι τὰ λείψανα τῆς ἀγκύρας τῆς Ἀργοῦς. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπόμνημα ἦν ἐνταῦθα τῶν μύθων τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα.
- 17 Braund 2003:180: “any educated Roman dealing with Phasis would be concerned with the possibility of traces of the Argonauts, who were by Arrian’s day as much a matter for Roman literature as for Greek. More generally, it was always part of the Roman governor’s role to seek out curiosities and novelties for their own sake.”
- 18 Braund 1994:30, 190.
- 19 The quote is taken from Williamson (2005:219), commenting on Pliny *Naturalis Historia* 13.88, where Pliny discusses the purported letter of Sarpedon seen by Mucianus in Xanthus (discussed in Chapter 2).
- 20 Greek and Roman authors frequently thought about the relative age of objects based on their material, shape, and size. As is well known, bronze artifacts were widely associated with the age of heroes: Hainsworth 1987:211; Higbie 2006. The wooden statues of divinities known as *xoana* were often deemed more ancient than their stone counterparts: Donohue 1988:208–210. According to an ancient idea most clearly expressed in Vitruvius (2.1.3–7) and later popularized in the Renaissance, the peculiar architectural ornamentation of Greek stone temples was thought to be the skeuomorphic remnants of wooden originals. The most famous example of architecture being used in classical antiquity as a chronological gauge involves the attribution of the walls of Argos, Mycenae, and Tiryns to prehistoric mythical beings. This association, attested, for example, in Pausanias 2.16.5 and 2.25.8, has given archaeologists the term “cyclopean masonry” (on the Cyclopes’s exploits – architectural and otherwise – see especially the scholia to Euripides *Orestes* 965). Among the Greeks, the notion that giants built the massive structures of the late Bronze Age can be traced back at least to the sixth century BC (Pindar *Fragments* 169a.7 and Bacchylides 1.77), but the tendency to think that big buildings necessitate big builders and that bigger implies older is well documented beyond the ancient Mediterranean: in medieval England, for example, the brief and beautiful Anglo-Saxon poem known as “The Ruin” constitutes an effort by an eighth-century AD observer to make sense of a dilapidated Roman bath that the poet describes as *enta geweorc* (“giants’ work”): Cohen 1993; for a host of other Indo-European parallels: West 2007:300–301; in colonial Mexico, the sixteenth-century Spanish Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún records that his Aztec contemporaries attributed the building of Teotihuacan to giants from Tollan (modern Tula): Hamann 2002; López Luján 2017. Nowadays, people sometimes prefer to displace the agents of curious and unusual architecture spatially rather than chronologically and believe, for example, that aliens made the famous desert drawings in Nazca, Peru.
- 21 Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* (1.955) had mentioned that the anchor of the Argo was made of stone.
- 22 Liddle 2003:100, commenting on 9.9.2, dismisses Arrian’s interest in the authenticity of the anchor as “a typical ‘Second Sophistic’ preoccupation.”
- 23 Stone anchors of the Argo were also variously reported to have ended up in Cyzicus (where one was affixed with lead to the *prytaneion* to keep it from wandering off: Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia* 36.99) and on the Asian side of the mouth of the Bosphorus (Dionysius of Byzantium 87, extant only in Latin paraphrase).

- 24 The creature was mentioned both by the second/third-century AD essayist Aelian (*De Natura Animalium* 13.21) and by Pausanias (9.20.4–5), with Frazer’s (1965[1898]:84) characteristically informative note: “As the popular idea of a Triton was a fish with a man’s head, it became necessary, before exhibiting a real fish as a Triton, to cut off its head or at least to mangle it past all recognition, and then to invent some story to account for the mutilation.”
- 25 Eric Hebborn in *Omnibus* 1991, at 5:15–5:28
- 26 *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 41: Σώζεται δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατιᾶς σημεῖα περὶ τοὺς τόπους, ἱερά τε ἀρχαῖα καὶ θεμέλιοι παρεμβολῶν καὶ φρέατα μέγιστα.
- 27 On the origins of the author of the *Periplus of the Red Sea*: Casson 1989:7–10. On his “enormously practical perspective”: Parker 2008:172.
- 28 On archaeological finds attesting to commerce with the Mediterranean in the region around Barygaza: Tomber 2008:125–126. Archaeological exploration of the region has concentrated on later periods: Keller 2016.
- 29 Arrian 6.18–20 states that Alexander was based at Pattala in the Indus Delta, from where he made various explorations downriver on two of its branches. He also sailed briefly out into “Ocean” – probably as a symbolic gesture of exploration or on a scouting mission. On Alexander’s naval missions in the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf: Salles 2007.
- 30 Tarn 1938:148.
- 31 Casson 1989:200.
- 32 Strauch 2012.
- 33 Compare the description of the role of indigenous experts, “local fishermen in the king’s service,” in the navigation of foreign ships up the Narmada Delta towards Barygaza (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 44).
- 34 Casson 1989:24. There is abundant evidence for ancient linguistic contact between the languages of the region and those of the Mediterranean. How and when individual words from India made it to the Mediterranean is a complicated matter; some undoubtedly did so across the Indian Ocean. On Indo-Greek bilingualism specifically: Seldeslachts 1998. On words from a variety of ancient Indian languages, including Sanskrit and Tamil, that attest to contact with ancient Hebrew: Shulman 2016:20–21.
- 35 Consider the merchant’s reflections on the political history and linguistic history in the port of Rhapta in Africa (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 16), or his correct glossing of δάχναος, an Indic word for “south” (*Periplus Maris Erythraei* 50).
- 36 McLaughlin 2014:45.
- 37 *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 47: μέχρι νῦν ἐν Βαρυγάζοις παλαιαὶ προχωροῦσιν δραχμαί, γράμμασιν Ἑλληνικοῖς ἐγκεχαράγμενα ἐπίσημα τῶν μετὰ Ἀλέξανδρον βασιλευκόντων Ἀπολλοδότου καὶ Μενάνδρου.
- 38 Deyell 1984.
- 39 Casson 1989:206.
- 40 Delos: Roussel and Launey 1937:292, no. 2; Miletus: Healey 2009: no. 18.
- 41 On Nabataeans in the Greek world, including a brief report on Shulay and his political ambitions: Terpstra 2015:77–80.
- 42 *IG* XII.4 2:558.
- 43 Bowersock 1984:21.
- 44 On the earthquake: Strabo 17.1.46; the sound is discussed below.
- 45 Bernard and Bernard 1960, the standard edition of these inscriptions, offers 107 texts: no. 37 explicitly calls the speaking statue a “wonder” (θαῦμα). Recently: Rosenmeyer 2018, which I obtained only after this book had already been submitted to the publisher.
- 46 Cirio 2011:14–37 compiles and analyzes the ancient literary testimonies.
- 47 As Brennan (1998:215) has noted, those inscriptions “shed remarkable light on the competitive ethos – both political and literary – of the Roman elite in the age of Hadrian.”
- 48 On Balbilla: Cirio 2011.
- 49 Bernard and Bernard 1960: no. 28: Ἰουλίας Βαλ(β)ίλλης· | ὅτε ἤκουσε τοῦ Μέμνο(νο)ς | ὁ σεβαστὸς Ἀδριανός. | Μέμνονα πυνθανόμεν Αἰγύπτιον ἄλιω αὔγα | αἰθόμενον φῶγην

Θηβαῖ(κ)ω ‘πυ λίθω. | Ἀδρίανον δ’ ἐσίδων, τὸν παμβασιλῆα πρὶν αὖγας | ἀελίω χαίρην
| εἶπέ Φοι ὡς δύναντον. | Τίταν δ’ ὅττ’ ἐλάων λεύκοισι δι’ αἴθερος ἵπποις | [ἐ]νὶ σκίαι
ῶράων δεύτερον ἦχε μέτρον, | ὡς χάλκοιο τυπέντ[ο]ς ἦ Μένων πάλιν αὖδαν | ὀξύτονον·
χαίρω[ν κ]αὶ τρίτον ἄχον ἦ. | Κοίρανος Ἀδριαν[ο]ς τότε’ ἄλ[ι]ς δ’ ἀσπάσασατο καῦτος |
Μέμνονα κὰν [σ]τάλ[ι] <λ>αὶ κάλλ[ι]·[π]εν ὁψ[ι]γόνους | γρόππατα σαμαίν[ον]τά τ’ ὅσ’ εὐΐδε
κῶσσ’ ἐσάκουσε. | Δῆλον παῖσι δ’ ἔγε[ν]τ’ ὥς Φε φίλισι θεοί.

- 50 Bowie 1990:62; but see also the more tempered assessment of Brennan 1998:221; and Cirio 2011:59–60.
- 51 As Bowie (1990:65–66) has noted: “The contrast between learning by proxy and in person was clearly one that was traditional in Memnon-poems.”
- 52 Bowie 1990:66.
- 53 Cirio 2011:38–42.
- 54 Strabo 17.1.46.
- 55 Bernand and Bernand 1960: no. 29, lines 3–4: ἡ Ἀμένωθ, βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου, τὼς ἐνέποισιν ἱρῆς μύθων τῶν παλάων ἱδριες. Amenoth is usually identified by Egyptologists as Amenhotep III.
- 56 Bernand and Bernand 1960: no. 29, lines 7–8: Γλῶσσαν μὲν τοι τμᾶξε [κ]αὶ ὤατα βάρβαρος ἄνηρ, Καμβύσας ἄθεος.
- 57 Bernand and Bernand 1960: no. 72.
- 58 Pausanias 1.42.3.
- 59 Sens (2012) has suggested that the priests’ “identification of the statue as the non-epic Egyptian alternative, Amenhotep, rather than as Memnon, who was prominent in the epic tradition, might be understood [i.e., by Greek and Roman readers of the inscription] as a reversal of expectation.”
- 60 Brennan 1998:217.
- 61 Bowersock 1984:32.
- 62 Common epithets for Zenobia in Palmyrene inscriptions: e.g., Healey 2009: no. 36.
- 63 Strabo 8.6.23: πολὺν δὲ χρόνον ἐρήμη μείνασα ἡ Κόρινθος ἀνελήφθη πάλιν ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν, ἐποίκους πέμπαντος τοῦ ἀπελευθερικοῦ γένους πλείστους· οἱ τὰ ἐρείπια κινουῦντες καὶ τοὺς τάφους συνανασκάπτοντες εὕρισκον ὀστρακίων τορευμάτων πλήθη, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ χαλκώματα· θαυμάζοντες δὲ τὴν κατασκευὴν οὐδένα τάφον ἀσκευώρητον εἶσαν, ὥστε εὐπορήσαντες τῶν τοιούτων καὶ διατιθέμενοι πολλοῦ νεκροκορινθίων ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν Ῥώμην· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκάλουν τὰ ἐκ τῶν τάφων ληφθέντα, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ὀστράκινα. κατ’ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἐτιμήθη σφόδρα ὁμοίως τοῖς χαλκώμασι τοῖς κορινθιουργέσιν, εἴτ’ ἐπαύσαντο τῆς σπουδῆς, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν ὀστράκων καὶ οὐδὲ κατωρθωμένων τῶν πλείστων.
- 64 E.g., Schnapp 1997:27; Trigger 2006:46.
- 65 Horace *Epistulae* 2.1.156–157.
- 66 Schnapp 1997:28.
- 67 Payne 1931:348.
- 68 On Roman passions for Greek metal objects and the dispersal of Corinthian bronze artifacts as a result of military expansion: Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 34.6.
- 69 I have discussed olfactory connoisseurship before in Rojas 2017 and Rojas and Sergueenkova 2017.
- 70 Martial 9.59.
- 71 Petronius 50.7.
- 72 Emanuele 1989.
- 73 Linderski 1992.
- 74 Pliny the Elder *Naturalis Historia* 36.55: *Elide aedis est Minervae, in qua frater Phidiae Panaenus tectorium induxit lacte et croco subactum, ut ferunt; ideo, si teratur hodie in eo saliva pollice, odorem croci saporemque reddit.* (“They say Panaenus, Phidias’s brother, did the ornamental plastering of the temple of Athena in Elis with milk and saffron; and if today you lick a finger and rub it, it gives off the smell and taste of saffron.”) I mention without quoting this passage in Rojas 2017, where I say, incorrectly, that the plaster was used by Phidias, as opposed to Panaenus.

- 75 Vanotti 2007. This miscellany was compiled roughly between the second century BC and the second century AD; it is usually attributed to Aristotle, even if no modern scholar has ever taken that attribution seriously.
- 76 [Pseudo-Aristotle] *De mirabilibus auscultationibus* §49.
- 77 Rojas and Sergueenkova 2017.
- 78 Pausanias 10.4.1.
- 79 Pausanias 10.38.1–3; Plutarch *Quaestiones Graecae* 294F–295A.
- 80 Plutarch *Themistocles* 8.2–3: καὶ δένδρα περὶ αὐτῷ πέφυκε καὶ στήλαι κύκλῳ λίθου λευκοῦ πεπηγασιν· ὁ δὲ λίθος τῇ χειρὶ τριβόμενος καὶ χροάν καὶ ὁσμὴν κροκίζουσιν ἀναδίδωσιν ... δέικνται δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς τόπος ἐν πολλῇ τῇ πέριξ θινὶ κόνιν τεφρώδῃ καὶ μέλαιναν ἐκ βάθους ἀναδιδούς, ὥσπερ πυρίκαυστον, ἐν ᾧ τὰ ναύαγια καὶ νεκροὺς καύσαι δοκοῦσι.
- 81 Classen, Howes, and Synnott 1994:4, summarizing Faure 1987.
- 82 Whitmarsh 2013:230.
- 83 DK B101a.
- 84 E.g., Woolf 1996 (an extract of which is quoted below).
- 85 On the dates of the various looting incidents: Ruiz et al. 2015.
- 86 Ruiz et al. 2015:375–376.
- 87 Olmos et al. 2012:94: “una actitud anticuarista y – quizás – erudita.”
- 88 Rubio Gomis and Gallo 1986:215–226, cat. nos. 6024 and 6025.
- 89 Olmos 1998:212–213.
- 90 Olmos et al. 2012:92.
- 91 I have previously discussed the examples treated in this section in Rojas 2017.
- 92 García Sanjuán and Díaz-Guardamino 2015.
- 93 Woolf 1996:361.
- 94 See Chapter 4, conclusions.
- 95 Strabo 3.2.15: οἱ μέντοι Τουρδετανοὶ καὶ μάλιστα οἱ περὶ τὸν Βαίτιν τελέως εἰς τὸν Ῥωμαίων μεταβέβληνται τρόπον οὐδὲ τῆς διαλέκτου τῆς σφετέρας ἔτι μεμνημένοι. Λατῖνοί τε οἱ πλείστοι γεγονάσι καὶ ἐποίκους εἰλήφασι Ῥωμαίους, ὥστε μικρὸν ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πάντες εἶναι Ῥωμαῖοι.
- 96 Strabo 3.1.6: σοφώτατοι δ’ ἐξετάζονται τῶν ἰβήρων οὗτοι καὶ γραμματικῇ χρῶνται καὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς μνήμης ἔχουσι συγγράμματα καὶ ποιήματα καὶ νόμους ἐμμέτρους ἐξακισχιλίων ἐπῶν, ὥς φασι.
- 97 Cruz Andreotti 1993.
- 98 Jiménez 2015.
- 99 For instance, a massive Bronze Age inscription in Anatolian hieroglyphs now in the Afyon Archaeological Museum was part of the architectural fabric of a Roman period tomb: Şahin and Tekoğlu 2003. The exact placement of the inscription is not known because the monument was destroyed by looters.
- 100 Trigger 2006:43.
- 101 Azeri scholars have associated the inscription with a place now called Romana, arguing that the toponym is evidence of an ancient Roman presence in the region: Ashurbejlî 1992:32.
- 102 AE XXX 1951 Nr. 263. The Latin text reads: IMP DOMITIANO | CAESARE AVG | GERMANIC | L. IVLIVS | MAXIMVS > | LEG XII FVL
- 103 Ustinova (2000) discusses similar ancient Latin inscriptions found in the Kara-Kamar cave complex in southern Uzbekistan, even further east.
- 104 Heidenreich 1983.
- 105 Braund 2003:190.
- 106 On the dating and archaeological context: Farajova 2011. In 2007, the Gobustan Rock Art Cultural Landscape was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site; more on which: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1076> (accessed July 21, 2017).
- 107 *Argonautica* (4.279–281): οἱ δὲ τοὶ γραπτῶς πατέρων ἔθεν εἰρύονται, | κύρβιας οἷς ἐνὶ πᾶσαι ὁδοὶ καὶ πείρατ’ ἔασιν | ὑγρῆς τε τραφερῆς τε πέριξ ἐπινισσομένοισιν.
- 108 I have suggested this also in the case of Nicander’s mention of the tomb of Tmolus in the section entitled “Tmolus, Mountain–Person” in Chapter 3.
- 109 Moses Khorenatsi *History of the Armenians* 2.8, tr. Thomson 1978.

- 110 Rojas and Sergueenkova 2014:149–151 (with earlier bibliography).
- 111 On Ayanis: Çilingiroğlu, Salvini and Abay 2001; on the temple specifically pp. 37–65.
- 112 Inscriptions in Gobustan have been continuously made since the Upper Paleolithic (Farajova 2011:19). I thank Malahat Farajova for her discussion of the topography and carvings of Gobustan with me.
- 113 The value attributed by archaeologists and others to such layered traces of the past shifts, sometimes paradoxically: Lucius's inscription is archaeologically and historically valuable – almost as valuable as the prehistoric petroglyphs themselves – but the carvings of more recent visitors are evidence of vandalism.
- 114 I quote Dodwell in the section entitled “Pausanias, the Lydian Guides, and the Plowmen in Temenothyrae” in Chapter 2 above.
- 115 On the petroglyphs: Bingöl 2016.
- 116 Basso 1996:xiv.

6 THE PAST IN THINGS: ANCIENT ARCHAEOPHILIA AND MODERN ARCHAEOLOGY

- 1 Pingree 1992:554.
- 2 Rojas 2017.
- 3 Daston (2009:806–807), in reference to scholarship written roughly in the last quarter of the twentieth century: “Historians of premodern science grew increasingly skittish about calling what they studied science at all, and the word *scientist* when applied to Archimedes or Galileo set their teeth on edge. This was not so much finickiness (although it was also that) as a desire to capture lost disciplines (*scientia*, natural philosophy, mixed mathematics) and personae (courtier, sage, philosopher) that were crucial for accurate historical reconstructions.”
- 4 E.g., Bahrani, Çelik, and Eldem 2011; González-Ruibal 2014; Anderson 2015; Cabral 2016; Laluk 2017; Rojas 2017; Todd 2017.
- 5 A volume that troubles simplistic binaries separating looters from archaeologists: Field, Gnecco, and Watkins 2016.
- 6 For the sake of clarity, I offer a single anecdotal example of a practical technological development in archaeology that is the result of grave-robbing practices: the so-called Luoyang spade, a specialized implement refined by generations of looters, has become a key excavation tool and is regularly employed by archaeologists working in China. On the origins of the Luoyang spade: Qin 2006 (I thank my colleague Kate Brunson for this reference as well as for providing a translation from the Chinese). For a brief account of the Luoyang spade's importance in the excavations of Anyang: Hessler 2006:4.
- 7 NAA is the acronym for Neutron Activation Analysis, a non-destructive technique to analyze the chemical signature of an object. It has been used by archaeologists to determine, among other things, the source of materials and thus to extrapolate their movements (shedding light on such matters as, e.g., the obsidian trade in prehistory). GC-MS is the acronym for Gas Chromatography-Mass Spectrometry, a technique used to analyze the composition of chemical compounds, especially residues such as lipids and other such remnants potentially shedding light on the relationship between ancient humans and their plant and animal resources OSL is briefly described above in chapter 3, note 6.
- 8 E.g., in the ancient Mediterranean: Skeates 2010; Hamilakis 2014. See also, Houston, Stuart, and Taube 2006, a learned and insightful interdisciplinary exploration of the senses and emotions among the ancient Maya of Mesoamerica.
- 9 For previous attempts to imagine such a history: Schnapp 1993, 1997; Schnapp et al. 2013. For a programmatic statement on the virtues of comparative antiquarianism: Anderson and Rojas 2017; for cautionary remarks on our attempt: Miller 2017.
- 10 Díaz-Andreu 2007:1. See also: Stoczkowski 2001; Murray 2012:135.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby</i>
<i>CTH</i>	<i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i>
<i>DK</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i>
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
<i>IAph</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Aphrodisias</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>Kbo</i>	<i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi</i>
<i>KUB</i>	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i>
<i>LGPN</i>	<i>Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>OED</i>	<i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>PMG</i>	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i>
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Supplementum Numismaticum Graecum</i>
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>

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